# THE CHURCH-SECT TYPOLOGY AND THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE: AN EMPIRICAL CRITIQUE OF THE TYPOLOGY

by

MICHAEL WAYNE KRUSE

B. A., Mid-America Nazarene College, 1981

---

A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1984

Approved by:

Wayne C. Rohr

Major Professor

A11202 958666

LD
2668
.T4
1984
K785
c. 2

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS . . . . . ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . . iv

INTRODUCTION . . . . . 1

I. CHAPTER 1 . . . . . 3
A. Review of the Literature . . . . . 3
B. Theoretical Perspective . . . . . 17
C. Methodology . . . . . 23

II. CHAPTER 2 . . . . . 28
A. Theology . . . . . 28
B. The Theological Heritage of Methodism and the Church of the Nazarene . . . . . 31
1. John Calvin and Calvinism . . . . . 31
2. James Arminius and Arminianism . . . . . 32
3. John Wesley . . . . . 33
C. Early American Methodism . . . . . 38
D. The Beginning of the Holiness Movement . . . . . 41
E. The Holiness Movement at its Zenith . . . . . 44
1. Social Action . . . . . 44
2. Abolition . . . . . 45
3. Feminism . . . . . 45
4. Aid to the Outcast . . . . . 47
F. Come Outism . . . . . 52
G. Foundations of the Church of the Nazarene . . . . 59
1. Eastern Forerunners . . . . . 61
2. Western Forerunners . . . . . 66
3. East Meets West . . . . . 71
4. Southern Forerunners . . . . . 73
5. North Collides with South . . . . . 77
6. Birth of a National Denomination . . . . . 80
7. Later Additions . . . . . 81
H. The Church of the Nazarene . . . . . 82
1. 1908-1933 . . . . . 83
a. Polity . . . . . 83
b. "The Great Reversal" . . . . . 87
2. 1934-1958 . . . . . 96
a. Depression and War . . . . . 96
b. Organizational Expansion . . . . . 98
c. New Leadership and Old Values . . . . . 104
3. 1959-1983 . . . . . 111
a. Reorganization . . . . . 111
b. Theology and Values: Approaching a Turning Point? . . . . . 115
I. Summary . . . . . 125

III. CHAPTER 3 . . . . . 127
A. The Church-Sect Theory . . . . . 127
1. Ten Variables and the Church of the Nazarene . 128
2. Analysis of Variables . . . . . 133
3. The Great Dilemma . . . . . 134
4. Underlying Assumptions . . . . . 136
B. A New Model . . . . . 141
1. Foundations . . . . . 142
2. Types of Organization . . . . . 143
3. The Fundamental Aspects of Religious Organizations . . . . . 145
a. Meaning System . . . . . 145
b. Structure . . . . . 147
c. Sociocultural Environment . . . . . 150
d. Socioeconomic Status . . . . . 152
C. Summary and Final Observations . . . . . 155
D. Suggestions for Future Research . . . . . 156

CONCLUSION . . . . . 159

NOTES . . . . . 160

APPENDICES . . . . . 163
Appendix A: Swato's Model . . . . . 163
Appendix B: Nicene Creed . . . . . 164
Appendix C: Statistical Table . . . . . 165
Appendix D: Financial Table 1 . . . . . 167
Appendix E: Financial Table 2 . . . . . 169
Appendix F: Membership and Sunday School Attendance . . . . . 171
Appendix G: Total Churches . . . . . 172
Appendix H: Average Congregation Size . . . . . 173
Appendix I: Per Capita Giving . . . . . 174
Appendix J: Disposable Income Donated . . . . . 175

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 176

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a special thanks to many people for their contributions to this thesis. Thanks to Steve Cooley in the Archives for the Church of the Nazarene for his guidance and helpful suggestions. Thanks to Dale Jones in the Department of Church Growth for the Church of the Nazarene for his observations and help in the statistical aspects of this paper. A big thanks to Kathy McKinney and Ed Gregory for their editorial contributions. Most of all, thanks to my parents. Their continued support and encouragement of my academic endeavors made this paper possible.

# INTRODUCTION

Through efforts of sociologists to understand the development of religious organizations, a model known as the Church-Sect Typology has emerged.* Its history has been, to say the least, confusing and controversial. More than once the typology has been attacked with the intention of discrediting it, but it has always reappeared a short time later. What is it that makes this model so resilient and simultaneously elicits such critical responses? What are the model's weaknesses? Can they be rectified by adding or subtracting certain elements? Or is the whole model so fundamentally flawed that it must be abandoned for a new alternative? The purpose of this paper is to answer these questions.

Before discussion of the model is begun it is important to appreciate the magnitude of the problem. The Church-Sect Typology has existed for more than five decades, yet theorists have only made minimal progress toward explaining or predicting anything. It would be reasonable to assume that by this time a working model would have been developed, but such is not the case. As a result, the information that has been collected and the work that has been undertaken is not very useful. A model is needed that will give direction to interpretation, integrate existing knowledge, and thereby lift the study of religious organizations out of its theoretical quagmire. This will not be simple. Some erroneous understandings, both substantive and methodological, have been taken for granted that must be altered if there is to be progress. A brief historical account of the typology's development will

illustrate why.

# CHAPTER 1

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It is difficult to tell where the terms "church" and "sect" first appeared in sociology, although Max Weber seems to be the first to have used them in any broad theoretical context. The most notable use of these terms was in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1958 edition). In various later works, he uses the same terms again with a little more elaboration. In spite of these various elaborations, the key distinction between the two terms in all his works is the mode of attaining membership (Swatos, 1976:132). The church's membership is based on compulsory association. This would mean that one is born into the church by virtue of being under the church's jurisdiction, while one joins the sect by making a commitment to the group at a specific point in time. It is essential to see that, according to Weber, these "concepts of voluntary and compulsory associations are by no means exhaustive of all conceivable types of corporate groups. Furthermore, they are to be thought of only as 'polar' antithesis" (Weber, 1968:152). Weber's intent was to create crude ideal types for purpose of analysis.

Ernst Troeltsch, a good friend of Weber's, was interested in the theological development of the Christian church over the years, and he borrowed these concepts to aid in his analysis. In The Social Teachings of the Christian Church (1931), it is apparent that Troeltsch has altered the typology; first, by emphasizing religious practices rather than organization in his types, and second, by introducing the factor of degree of

accomodation with the social environment (Swatos, 1976:133). Where Weber was likely to ask about how one joins and how the leadership is structured, Troeltsch was more inclined to look at the degree of formality that existed in services or members' attitudes toward the "secular world." In order to help clarify his views concerning these issues, Troeltsch developed three categories rather than two. These were churchly, sectarian, and mystical behavior (Swatos, 1976:133). The third is usually dropped by modern theorists in their models, although the behavior orientation still remains. Troeltsch, having borrowed Weber's terms, added his own behavioral criteria and created an organizational/behavioral basis for the typology. It is this typology to which H. Richard Niebuhr would make the final major contribution.

Niebuhr, in The Social Sources of Denominationalism (1929), dealt with the ethical problem of division or denominationalism within the Christian church (Gustafson, 1967:65). He was concerned with the origin of sects and denominations and how they change over time. In order to explain this phenomenon he borrowed the Church-Sect Typology, giving emphasis to the behavioristic elements (Gustafson, 1967:65). The major insights he contributed were the sect-to-church cycle and the observation that low socioeconomic status is related to sectarian behavior. One other contribution that he made seems to have been unintentional: In his theory of the sect-to-church cycle, the implication is that one could place any group on a continuum on the basis of how far it had progressed from a sectarian status. Niebhur's work set the stage for the next several decades of church-sect analysis.

Churches were compulsory, socially accomodating organizations, sects were schismatic, voluntary, socially hostile organizations comprised of those with low socioeconomic status.

During the 1930s and 1940s, relatively little was done in the field of church-sect theorizing. Howard Becker made one alteration in the early 1930s which was popular with some. He dropped the term "church," added "ecclesia" and "denomination," and created a new category which he termed "cult." The resulting continuum was ecclesia, denomination, sect, and cult, in that order (1932:622-628). This was basically an attempt to further define the process of transformation by increased categorization. Elmer Clark also published his Small Sects in America (1937), an effort to distinguish between various types of sects. Like most of the work of this variety, however, neither of these made major contributions to theory.

In contrast, the 1950s were a period of increasing interest in this area concerning the applicability of the typology and its ability to explain various phenomena. Earl Brewer's Sect and Church in Methodism (1952), Russell Dynes' Church-Sect Typology and Socioeconomic Status (1954), and, in particular, Peter Berger's attempt to clarify what church and sect meant in The Sociological Study of Sectarianism (1954) are good examples of the type of research that led the way for the study of religious organizations in later years.

As mentioned above, in 1932, Becker expanded the number of categories in the typology from two to four. This approach to refining the typology has been repeated several times since. A revision by Milton Yinger has been the most enduring. Yinger,

like Becker, was not satisfied with the existing categories. He therefore added two of his own, and the result was a continuum consisting of universal church, ecclesia, denomination, established sect, sect, and cult (1957:157-176).

Another kind of revision was made by Bryan Wilson. Wilson recognized church and sect as dichotomous, and claimed that sects tend to become churches; however, he concluded that there are different types of churches and sects at the two poles. He therefore set out to classify sects into types and succeeded in creating a typology that included four distinct types of sects; these are the conversionist, adventist, introversionist, and gnostic sects (1959:5-6). Ten years later he revised his groupings and arrived at a total of seven types (1969). This typing of sects was essentially making ideal sub-types of an ideal type.

A third means of better defining sects is that of altering the continuum. Benton Johnson (1963) suggests a continuum that places the church in the middle and the sect at either end. The farther to the right a sect is placed, the more conservative its political and religious leanings. The farther to the left the group is placed, the more liberal its political and religious leanings. This important conceptual model includes the variable of attitude toward the social environment in its construction (Johnson, 1963:548-549).

A last approach to be dealt with here is one popularized by Paul Gustafson (1967). Gustafson took the extremes of two dichotomous variables and crossed them, thus creating a four-celled typology. The variables were the objective/subjective

means of grace and the universalistic/particularistic concept of membership. The resulting types were the universalistic/objective, univeralistic/subjective, particularistic/subjective and particularistic/objective (Gustafson, 1967:67). Gustafson did not intend these classifications to be synonymous with church or sect, as the schema was being offered as an alternative to the Church-Sect Typology. Others, however, have borrowed the same approach and classified those groups that exist at one end of one variable "church" and those at the other "sect." William Swatos' model (discussed below) is the most notable example (Swatos, 1975).

These four different approaches taken by Yinger, Wilson, Johnson and Gustafson give some idea of the difficulties involved when one refers to the relationship between church and sect, especially when no consensus was reached during this era as to which model was most appropriate. The problem with conceptual models, however, is not the only source of confusion. When one begins the search for a definition of church or sect one soon discovers it to be a hopeless task. The following four examples illustrate why.

Oliver Whitley's (1955) work is the first example. Whitley synthesized earlier theoretical works to arrive at his characteristics of churches and sects. He concluded that sects are voluntary organizations, without a hierarchy of priesthood, exclusive in nature, attempting to withdraw from the world, and low in socioeconomic status while churches had membership by birth, an institutional means of grace, an inclusive nature, a desire to embrace all members of society, and a tendency to

compromise with worldly ethics (1955:275-276). This typology allowed any religious organization to be studied with regard to specific features in order to determine their churchness or sectness.

Bryan Wilson's (1959) theory is quite similar to this. He synthesized previous works but, having done so, he added his own "logically derived" criteria. Consequently, Wilson had a rather elaborate typology. Some of Wilson's characteristics of sects are voluntary association, membership by merit, exclusiveness, expulsion of dissidents, a group self-conception as the elect, expectation of personal perfection, and hostility toward society (Wilson, 1959:4). Some characteristics of churches are "formally voluntary," few or no prerequisites for membership, an emphasis on tolerance, laxity in expulsion (since members were laxly enrolled), unclear self-conception, acceptance of conventional morality and values, a trained ministry, a low degree of lay participation, formal services, and an emphasis on education as opposed to evangelism (Wilson, 1959:4). The intended advantage of this typology is the same as Whitley's except that the greater degree of elaboration enabled even more detailed analysis. Whitley's and Wilson's approaches were the predominant ones in the 1950s and 1960s.

Another approach exemplified by Peter Berger believed one key element separated church and sect. In the sect, the "spirit" is held to be immediately present, while in the church the "spirit" is remote (Berger, 1954:475). From this distinction other "logical" conclusions are drawn about the nature of each type, giving a more precise picture for analysis and categorization.

The most important aspect of Berger's approach, however, is emphasis on one major characteristic.

The last approach to be cited here is similar to Berger's in all but one important aspect. Benton Johnson agrees with Berger in that one variable is sufficient to differentiate between types; however, he indentifies this variable as the acceptance or rejection of the social environment (Johnson, 1963:542). Johnson's model differs from Berger's in that Johnson stops at this point. What subsequent features emerge are a result of interaction with the environment in which the group exists, not the logical extensions of being a sect or a church (Johnson, 1963:543-544). This approach does not appear to have been accepted until at least fifteen years after its conception. It was, nonetheless, a viable alternative in the search for a defintion of church and sect.

By the late 1960s, most sociologists were asking what useful purpose the Church-Sect Typology could serve. According to several, the answer was "none" (Demerath, 1967; Eister, 1967; Goode, 1967; Gustafson, 1967; Coleman, 1968). Two called for complete abandonment (i.e., Eister, 1967; Gustafson, 1967). Though this appeal was not heeded, these serious criticisms dampened the enthusiasm of church-sect typologists for several years. Some criticisms are still being dealt with today.

The greatest weakness of the typology can be illustrated by simply asking the question, "What is a sect?" If one were to ask any of the above-mentioned authors, which is far from an inclusive sample, each would give a different answer. Lack of a consensus on definition makes it difficult to use the term in any meaningful

way. It is doubtful the authors themselves always knew what they meant. Johnson (1971:126) relates an example dealing with Milton Yinger, who in his Religion, Society and the Individual (1957), uses a group's degree of acceptance of society's values to distinguish between sect and church. Sects are classified as those that reject societal values. Yet Yinger labels one category "acceptance sects," which from the context indicates some sects accept societal values. This represents only a single instance of confusion within the framework designed to clarify the distinction between church and sect.

In order to resolve this difficulty, some consensus on definitions was needed. Alan Eister (1967:86) claims that by the late 1960s there were more than two dozen distinct dimensions or variables defining sect. Eister's suggestion for solving this difficulty was the following:

> Break down the multidimensional conglomerates which presently pass for "sect" or "church" entirely into their potentially component variables or attributes and then construct empirically-derived clusters of traits, with probabilities of combinations of various characteristics spelled out explicitly on the basis of observed instances of appearance, or other association, in various historical movements or organizations.

By arriving at some agreement on definition, the conceptual clarity of the typology would be greatly improved. It would likewise put a stop to the endless proliferation of a priori derived, multidimensional typologies which have been virtually useless.

With criticism mounting in the late 1960s, there was a short period of retreat by church-sect proponents. Some valid questions had been raised that demanded answers. A few hoped the typology would be dispensed with altogether, but such was not to be the case.

By the late 1970s a revival of the typology was underway. Some skeptics continued the search for alternatives (e.g., Snook, 1974). Others tested theories that had been developed (e.g., Welch, 1977), while still others critically examined histories of the typology to discover where its difficulties lay (e.g., Johnson, 1971; Swatos, 1976). The result was a greater emphasis on empirical tests and a better understanding of the typology's limitations regarding cultural differences. Definitions became more precise and there was also an increase in the incorporation of factors other than a specific group's religious behavior. A model developed by William Swatos (1975) exemplfies these improvements.

Swatos' (1975) model is based on two variables which, when crossed, result in four types of religious organization (see Appendix A). The horizontal axis represents the acceptance or rejection of societal values by an organization. Along the vertical axis is the societal structure concerning the plurality of religious groups; here, monopolism and pluralism are contrasted. Thus, four types are created; 1) monopolistic/acceptance, 2) monopolistic/rejectance, 3) pluralistic/acceptance, and 4) pluralistic/rejectance. The first is called a church, the second an entrenched sect, the third a denomination and the fourth a dynamic sect. A fifth type,

designated as an established sect, lies at the intersection of these two axes, and is viewed as transitional.

The members of the church, according to Swatos would consider theirs the only legitimate religious organization in its setting. They would consider the entrenched sect illegitimate and would prefer either to ignore or destroy it, depending on their church's perception of the threat. Should the sect, however, gain enough power and adherents, it might become an established sect and then evolve into the church, while the church would become an established sect and then an entrenched sect. The members of a denomination, in contrast, would be tolerant of a variety of religious organizations. The dynamic sect might take any number of approaches in its rejection of values, but the one that Swatos feels is the most likely to occur is an attempt to convert others to the values of the sect. Should the sect be successful, it eventually could become an established sect or a denomination. Denominations, according to this model, are also capable of becoming hostile to societal values, and thus there is the possibility a denomination could become a dynamic sect.

There are at least two advantages to this model. First, it allows for factors outside an organization to affect the organization's status. Should a societal structure change from one type to another, the status of the organization is affected. Second, there is nothing in this model that insists that once an organization begins to change, it will necessarily remain in its new form. A dynamic sect might become an established sect and then become a dynamic sect once again. A model such as this gives more conceptual clarity, making it a much better analytical tool.

While still a problematic model, it improves understanding of religious organizations.

The last and possibly the most significant contribution to the literature to be discussed is the work of Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge (1979; 1980; 1981). Of particular importance is their work entitled Of Church, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements (1979). In this work, they pinpoint the basic problems involved in the Church-Sect Typology. Their analysis gives great insight into past failures; therefore, an extensive review of this article is needed.

Stark and Bainbridge start by defining what is meant by the term "religion" before discussing religious organizations. They emphasize this is difficult because the definition must avoid being narrow (a purely Western religious context). It must likewise avoid becoming too broad. A common definition is that religion is a system of knowledge that provides answers to ultimate questions concerning ultimate meaning. But this definition would include Marxism and Secularism which have not traditionally been considered religion. Consequently, the authors see a need for a more precise definition.

The authors agree that while religion answers questions concerning ultimate meaning, it is comprised of more than this. Religion "postulates the existence of a supernatural being, world, or force and ... further postulates that this force is active, that events and conditions here on earth are influenced by the supernatural" (1979:119). Also, their definition includes explanations -- "statements about how and why rewards may be obtained and costs are incurred"; and compensators --

"postulations of rewards according to explanations that are not readily susceptible to unambiguous evaluation." (1979:120). In other words, "A compensator is an intangible promise which substitutes for a desired reward." (1979:120). In speaking of compensators, Stark and Bainbridge identify two important types: specific and general. "The former substitutes for a specific reward while the later substitutes for very general rewards or large collections of rewards" (1979:120).* The conclusion that is drawn from these observations is their definition of religion: "Religion is a system of general compensators based on supernatural assumptions" (1979:121).

This definition, while yet untested, is a vast improvement over previous offerings, which have not defined religion at all! It includes diverse phenomena while it excludes similar structures that differ in fundamental ways (e.g., Secularism). Consequently, with regard to the Church-Sect Typology, some clarity has been achieved concerning groupings appropriate for discussion.

Having established this definition, Stark and Bainbridge turn to the issue of the typology itself. Their initial comments are concern its methodological weaknesses, followed by a discussion of what definitions would be appropriate. They make their most significant contributions here.

They identify the main problem of the typology as lying with theorists who use Weber's ideal types. The point is that Weber saw the ideal type as a collection of correlates that would not exist in reality but could be used "... as conceptual instruments for comparison with and the measurement of reality" (Weber, 1949:97). The authors disagree with this framework. They argue

only attributes, not correlates, belong in the definition:

> The tragedy is that no typology so constructed will ever create the organization needed for theorizing. This problem is easy to illustrate. Suppose five correlates are used to define the ideal church, with negative values on these same five defining the ideal sect. Then, suppose we treat these criteria as dichotomies. The result is 32 logically possible types (since the defining criteria can vary independently), of which 30 are mixed types. These mixed types cannot be ordered fully. Which is more churchlike, a grouping possessing characteristics A and B, but lacking C,D, and E, or one with D and E, but not A,B, or C? In the empirical world, mixed types have been the rule. (Stark and Bainbridge, 1979:120)

The previously mentioned works of Whitley and Wilson are only two examples of typologies illustrating this difficulty; the vast majority of models that have been constructed have the same flaw. The conclusion, then, is that a major conceptual change is needed. What are the alternatives?

The key lies in the use of ideal types. Stark and Bainbridge note that, "the ideal types in physics anchor a single continuum along which it is possible to rank order all empirical or hypothetical cases" (1979:122). The example used is that of the difference between "ideal gasses" at one end and "frictionless gasses" at the other. Neither of these actually exist but are used as poles for comparison and measurement. It is concluded that these same kinds of ideal types are needed in the Church-Sect Typology.

The ideal types offered are based on Benton Johnson's typology (1963). As stated above, Johnson defined the church as accepting the social environment in which it exists, and the sect as rejecting the same. Stark and Bainbridge, however, prefer to talk about a state of tension with the sociocultural environment, rather than using the terms acceptance and rejection. Thus, they claim, that ideal types have been achieved that are similar to the ones in the physics example. "The ideal sect falls at one pole where the surrounding tension is so great that sect members are hunted fugitives. The ideal church anchors the other end of the continuum and virtually is the sociocultural environment -- the two are so merged it is impossible to postulate a basis for tension" (Stark and Bainbridge, 1979:123). An important aspect is that there is allowance for other formulations like the "religious institution" and the "religious movement." Religious institutions are "a stable sector of the social structure, a cluster of roles, norms, values, and activities associated with the preformance of key social functions" (Stark and Bainbridge 1979:123). In contrast, the religious movement is an organized group of which the main goal is causing or preventing change. It could be said that religious movements are seeking to become religious institutions. This permits classifying those movements progressing toward the low-tension pole as church movements and those progressing toward the high-tension pole as sect movements. Not only can the church and the sect be more clearly understood, but a better comprehension of religious movements is possible by reference to Stark and Bainbridge.

These authors also sought to delineate the difference between

a sect and a cult. Because a sect has had prior ties with another religious organization its members are likely to see themselves as reestablishing the old faith rather than creating anything new. This is antithetical to the cult whose members have a new faith without ties to religious organizations in the environment in question (1979:125). The point is that cults must be separated from the Church-Sect Typology. Although not specifically stated, Stark and Bainbridge imply there may be a need for a new "Church-Cult Typology." Though sects and cults have similar features, they differ in a few fundamental elements. Thus, Stark and Bainbridge claim that the understanding of sects and cults will be greatly enhanced by viewing them as two separate phenomena.

In essence, Stark and Bainbridge have made at least five contributions. First, they provide a working definition of the concept of religion. Second, they locate a key flaw in the Church-Sect Typology. Third, they develop a definition of church and sect that will allow for religious groups to be placed on a continuum. Fourth, they provide a basis for studying religious movements. Fifth, they make important distinctions for studying sects and cults. These accomplishments are noteworthy in comparison with work done over the past several years; however, they are not likely to be met with enthusiastic approval initially. The theoretical perspective taken in this paper will explain why I think this is so.

## THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Reviewing the literature indicates that while many have held the church-sect model in high regard, there appears to be no

agreement on what the model is. Why has such a nebulous model retained such a strong following? The major reason is the aspect of the typology that has attracted so many is at the same time its primary weakness: To see this dilemma, it must be remembered where the typology originated.

Some important distinctions are often forgotten when reviewing the work of Weber, Troelstch, and Niebuhr. Weber never dealt with the concepts of church and sect in anything other than a heuristic manner. He used loosely structured ideal types to understand better certain social processes. Likewise, Troelstch borrowed the terms to help analyze the historical development of the Christian Church. They were seen only as very general categories to describe groups that had similar traits and behaved in similar ways. Niebuhr was more concerned about the sources of division in the church than about the history of its development. The important factor in all three of these cases is these concepts were not used in a strict sociological sense. Conceptual clarity and precision were neither necessary nor desired. In fact, what many theorists who trace their roots back to Troeltsch and Niebuhr (and most do) seem to have forgotten is that both were theologians, not sociologists. Therefore, one would not expect these concepts to transfer unaltered to sociology in any methodologically useful sense, yet this is precisely what has been attempted for decades. Why?

It is difficult to look back and state with certainty what intentions and motivations were, but there does seem to be one likely answer in this case. Both Troeltsch and Niebhur's works are informative and innovative. In their day these religious

works were recognized as classics. Those in the relatively new field of sociology, looking for a model to aid them in the study of religious organizations, were attracted to these new approaches. Indeed, both men demonstrated the relationship and correlations between variables. Sociologists adopted this approach, thinking that only refinement in what correlates were used was needed, so that a model would emerge that would explain the processes of any religious organization. It seems they erred in accepting correlates as the proper components of which ideal types should be made. This issue was hinted at in the late 1960s, and was answered by Bainbridge and Stark in the cited article above.

Because attributes are the only proper elements to be used in formulating a definition, once ideal types have been defined, the search for correlations between variables can be undertaken. The correlations cease to be part of the definition. This refinement, as helpful as it may be, has at least one potentially negative impact. With this new basis for definitions, one may be left with only definitions. No model is provided to understand the processes involved. As clumsy as some of the old typologies have been, several have yielded useful insights. To drop suddenly these typologies in favor of new definitions without an alternative conceptual framework within which they may function is not likely to satisfy most theorists. Bainbridge and Stark (1980) feel that Johnson's work (1963) of twenty years ago made it clear that the present typologies were faulty. They stated that "we are at a loss to know why others have continued to pursue obviously unsuitable typologies since Johnson's work appeared" (Bainbridge

and Stark, 1980: 105). Apparently, locating weaknesses is not enough. A new model is needed if theorists are to be persuaded of the validity of this new viewpoint. What form would such a model take? Answering that question is the primary focus of this study.

The definitions and ideal types presented in Stark and Bainbridge (1979) will be employed here in the attempt to develop a new model. Churches are organizations in low tension with the sociocultural environment, sects are in high tension with the sociocultural environment. Tension as the distinguishing variable is by no means arbitrary; in reviewing the literature, almost without exception, theorists have included this as a distinguishing variable. Some have verbalized this concept in terms almost identical to those above, while others have built typologies in which most of the variables center around the aspect of societal tension. It is one element that groups traditionally referred to as churches and sects have always had in common. Thus, its selection as the defining feature for church and sect is warranted.

The next step will be to determine what social forces are involved in the dynamics of religious organizations and how they interrelate. This is to be seen in contrast to developing a list of consequences of churchness and sectness. To develop such a list would only repeat the errors of earlier sociologists. Instead, by examining the historical development of empirical cases, insight into the differences between organizations at the same end of the continuum will be better understood. Earlier theorists have not possessed this capability due to their theoretical models. A priori, a sect or church had to share all

of the handful of features the theorists included in their definitions. Groups that did not fit were either ignored or reclassified into a new typological category. Eventually, more exceptions would be found, more typologies would be created, and, in the end, the theory would be discredited because of its inability to explain or clarify anything. This would in turn be followed by another theorist with a new theory that would suffer the same fate, and so on. In the approach taken here, it is precisely the exceptions in correlating variables that are the most important, because they will point to the forces that have acted upon them to make them exceptions. Consequently, once it has been determined where on the continuum any given organization is located, all other information should testify to the forces that have influenced its status. The problem with this method, of course, is in determining where any given group should be ranked on the continuum of tension.

The answer, as yet, is not precise, but concrete contributions have been made. Bainbridge and Stark made a notable advancement in their article Sectarian Tension (1980), which offers some means of measurement. Sects are treated primarily as deviant subcultures. The implication is that not only does a sect reject societal norms and values but the surrounding culture rejects the sect. This means that individual members will be separated from those outside the subculture. Stark and Bainbridge conclude that there are three components to the concept of tension. These three are; 1) the difference between the group and its environment in terms of beliefs, norms, and behavior, 2) antagonism arising from both sides regarding these differences,

and 3) separation in terms of social relations between the group and outsiders (1981:138). Preliminary tests were conducted using information collected by Stark and Glock in the 1960s (Glock and Stark, 1965, 1966: Stark and Glock, 1968). An extensive questionnaire was used in the 1966 study and in other studies intuitive rankings were made of several groups' positions in respect to their churchness and sectness. Stark and Bainbridge reviewed the responses to the questions in light of their three fold concept of tension (1981). They found a remarkable degree of consistency between low, middle, and high tension groups on most responses. It is yet to be determined if there is a small set of variables that would be indicative of tension, but the variety of questions and responses used in their work build a strong argument for their present ranking of various denominations. As a preliminary means for measurement, this method has been quite satisfactory.*

In summary, then, the ideal types of church and sect will be used to study religious organizations, with churches being in low tension with the environment and sects being in high tension. Tension will be measured according to the work of Bainbridge and Stark (To be elaborated below). Lastly, it is postulated that there are a set of social forces that influence the development and processes of a religious organization. Discovering these forces and how they interrelate should substantially increase the sociologist's ability to explain and predict the functioning of religious organizations.

METHODOLOGY

At least two issues must be considered concerning methodology. First, in order to build a new model, empirical data must be used. One criticism that can be leveled at earlier theorists is that of failure to examine empirical cases in their development of theories. Had they used empirical evidence, the issue of multiple typologies might have been resolved long ago. Second, there is a need for longitudinal studies of specific cases. Most often, studies of religious organizations have only compared various groups at a given point in time so it can be determined what types of groups correlate on what variables. The result is a myopic view of religious organizations that loses the dynamic elements involved in the nature of any social phenomena. The problem is that the dynamic picture is precisely where the evidences of social forces will most likely be found. Consequently, if a model is to be created, longitudinal studies of empirical cases will be essential for success.

With these two factors in mind, an empirical case must be selected that will yield useful information, and about which there is some historical data. It would also be helpful to have an example that typifies the process of sect-to-church movement that is so heavily emphasized in the literature. The use of an atypical example may result in the creation of a new type in the typology, rather than illustrating the fundamental factors in sect or church development. To offer alternative explanations for a typical example would be more useful. A typical example that meets these requirements, and the one that will be employed in this endeavor, is the Church of the Nazarene.

The Church of the Nazarene has long been considered a sect in the sociology of religion literature (e.g. Clark, 1937; Pope, 1942; Berger, 1954; Wilson,1959; Welch, 1977; Stark and Bainbridge, 1981). The organization is seventy-five years old, and has grown from less than 10,000 members in the United States at its inception in 1908, to about 500,000 at present. The age of the organization provides a sufficient time span for doing a useful longitudinal analysis, and the rapid increase in membership would be expected in a sect-to-church transition. Also, according to Bryan Wilson (1959) and William Swatos (1975), the conversionist sects, which would include the Nazarenes, are the most likely to move from sect-to-church. In fact, the Nazarenes are one of the largest and fastest growing of this type of sect. Consequently, the group makes a very good case study. There are, however, two other reasons for using this organization.

First, the Church of the Nazarene has a history of keeping relatively accurate records and statistics. Information concerning number of members, number of churches, average weekly Sunday School size, and finance records have been kept for many years. There is also an archives collection, located at the headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, that contains many useful documents and other helpful information. The denominational seminary and one of the church's four year liberal arts colleges, which are located nearby, are also good resources.

The other reason for this choice is the relationship of the author to the Church of the Nazarene. My grandparents became Nazarenes in the 1920s and raised my father in the church. He and my mother, in turn, raised their children in the church, making me

a third-generation Nazarene. This past experience should greatly contribute to understanding the processes involved in this organization and should also give a greater degree of entree than an outsider might be able to obtain. There is, of course, the danger that this personal history could influence or bias the results of such a study, but every effort has been made to avoid this. The conclusions and observations made will be documented as completely as possible so that they can be empirically confirmed. The intuitive nature that comes with familiarity with any social grouping should, and in this case does, outweigh the possible negative consequences. Similarly, the entree factor contributes to the successful completion of this type of study.

The precise nature of this study will be as follows. The organization will first be observed and analyzed in two stages. The second chapter will present a history of the denomination and highlight major changes in its past and the forces that influenced them. The third chapter will analyze the history in an attempt to develop a model, and then make suggestions for future research. At the end, conclusions will be drawn about the questions raised in this thesis.

To provide greater focus for investigation, ten variables from the Church-Sect literature have been chosen for analysis. After reviewing the history of the Nazarenes, it will be determined to what degree these variables aid in the understanding of religious organizations. The use of these variables will have two benefits. First, the inadequacies in using these variables as the basis for definitions will be demonstrated. Second, since these variables measure various aspects of the group's nature,

observing how they change (or do not change) will point to the forces that influenced them. In the analysis, these and other factors that emerge will be used to initiate the construction of a new model. Also, in order to evaluate the sect-to-church transition theory, the variables are stated in such a way as to indicate the anticipated direction of change according to the literature. These variables are:

1. Voluntary Association - Voluntary association will eventually give way to a more formal voluntary mode. (In the latter case members, even though they formally join later in life, are in all practicality "born into" the church.)
2. Basis of Membership - Membership by merit eventually decreases to no prerequisites for membership.
3. Tolerance - An emphasis on exclusiveness shifts to an emphasis on tolerance (e.g. of values, organizations, etc.)
4. Socioeconomic Status - From low to high status.
5. Lay Participation - From high to low.
6. Size - From small to large.
7. Hierarchy - No hierarchy gives way to a complex hierarchy.
8. Self Conception - The group viewing itself as "the elect" in time becomes unclear about its self concept. Along with this variable is the idea that the sect causes an organizational schism, usually considering themselves "called" to do so.
9. Time Orientation - From a concern for eschatology to a

concern for the present.

10. Personal Perfection - An expectation of personal perfection changes to an acceptance of conventional norms.

At the beginning of the third chapter, each of these will be reviewed and judged according to their accuracy in describing the development of the Church of the Nazarene. It will then be determined if these variables give any clues to the functioning of religious organizations. From this work a preliminary model will be offered and suggestions for how it may be refined will be presented. Therefore, these variables should be kept in mind in reading the following history.

## CHAPTER 2

The history of the Church of the Nazarene is, in many ways, a difficult one to delineate. The church's official founding date of October 13, 1908, is more the culmination of a process than the beginning of one. It is important to understand this process if one is to appreciate the issues with which this group has grappled. Also, there are theological terms that need to be defined since some are not likely to be aware of these concepts or this particular group's understanding of them. The following is an effort to locate this group's position within the Christian Church, to define some of the important terms involved, and to present the group's own unique history.

### THEOLOGY*

The theology of the Church of the Nazarene has always been in line with the historic creedal doctrines of the Christian Church. In the denomination it is held that there is one God consisting of three persons (the Trinity) who always has, and always will, exist. God made all that exists, people being his highest and most unique creation, since the human is both material and personal. The intent was that human beings and God would enjoy constant companionship. However, Adam and Eve, the first man and woman (who were historical realities), rebelled and sought to become supreme themselves. The result was that God separated humans from himself because God is perfect in both love and justice and can not tolerate anything less than perfection. All humans since this time have been born proud and rebellious (i.e.,

sinful). The justice of God demanded destruction of all sinfulness but the love of God desired that people be brought back to a proper relationship with him. The only way this could be accomplished was for someone who was perfect to be willing to pay the penalty (i.e., eternal physical and spiritual death) for those who were sinful. Consequently, God the Son, one person of the Trinity, was born a man (i.e., Jesus Christ), lived a perfect life, and was put to death unjustly. He then rose from the dead and, after a brief time on earth, went to heaven where he acts as an intercessor with God the Father for all those who have accepted his vicarious life and death on their behalf.

The key factor in salvation is the individual response to the actions of Christ on his/her behalf. People who acknowledge that they are sinful and accept the payment of Jesus Christ for sin, are considered saved or released from the penalty of eternal death. More importantly, they are restored to a proper relationship with God which, while better than that previously experienced, is not perfect, since they are still sinful beings living in a sinful world (there is a spiritual rebirth but physical death is still part of the human experience). The complete restoration of the relationship occurs after death when individuals begin a sinless existence, both physical and spiritual, in a sinless environment called heaven. Conversely, those who refuse to acknowledge their sinfulness and do not accept Christ's work of redeption will be separated from God completely and eternally after death as his justice requires. However, because he is loving and merciful as well as just, God is constantly working to bring people back to himself while human

free will remains operative in the earthly dimension.

The final episode of human history is the physical return of Christ to earth to remove his followers and to destroy all those still in rebellion in a final demonstration of God's justice. At some point, either before or after this event, Christ will reign on the earth for a thousand years. Although the doctrine of the second coming of Christ is not necessarily central, beliefs about the time at which this will happen can have a major impact on one's viewpoint, as will be seen later.

Finally, there is the issue of how one comes to know God. Three avenues are commonly recognized. First, there is the Bible which is considered to be revealed truth about God, human beings, and their relationship to each other. The Bible is not believed to have been dictated by God but neither is it simply a collection of human inventions and opinions. It is more correctly understood to have been given by God, working through the various human authors, inspiring them to write in meaningful and accurate ways. Second, there is direct contact with God and, in particular, God the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is understood to be dynamically involved (as are the Father and Son) in every individual's life whether or not they are aware of it. The Spirit is constantly convicting the individual of sin, leading in a proper direction those who have chosen to follow, and actively helping the believer to understand the Bible and its applications. Thus, revelation is seen not as a static one-time occurrence but as a dynamic, ongoing process. Third, and last, is natural revelation. It is held that there is enough information in the natural environment, combined with the continual presence of God, for anyone to be aware of

God's existence and his/her own sinfulness. The question then arises, what will become of those who acknowledge this awareness but know of no way to resolve the problem? Though there has been little concensus on this issue, it is generally concluded that God, in his infinite love, ultimately will deal justly with all individuals. Therefore, dogmatic arguments are usually not made one way or the other, though generally it is believed that the overwhelming majority who have not learned about the Christ will not be saved. Consequently, there is a strong desire on the part of Nazarenes, as with many other Christian groups, to inform others everywhere so that they can be saved.

This brief examination of doctrine is sufficient to demonstrate that the theology of the Church of the Nazarene is well within the bounds of conservative Christian doctrine. Having established this fact, it is possible to focus on what it is that makes the church distinct from other denominations. A discussion of the history leading to the formation of the church will show what are its distinctive beliefs and where they originated.

## THE THEOLOGICAL HERITAGE OF METHODISM AND THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

### John Calvin and Calvinism

In understanding the history of the Church of the Nazarene one must first look back more than three centuries before its founding to develop a proper context. This was the period of the Reformation and the rise of Protestantism. John Calvin (1509-1564), who was to become one of the most influential theologians in this period and in history, plays an important role. Much of

what follows can, in part, be seen as a reaction to the teachings of Calvin's followers.

Calvin's main emphasized scripture as the highest authority in a Christian's life. Even though he developed a systematic theology, he claimed that it was derived solely from the Bible. As the seventeenth century progressed Calvin's teachings gained ever wider acceptance throughout Europe. After Calvin's death, however, controversy arose over precisely what Calvin had taught. People of varying opinions claimed to be the most faithful to Calvin, while others readily acknowledged their departure from his interpretations. Consequently, heated debates erupted over doctrine.

One of the most notable controversies occurred at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The central figure in the dispute was James Arminius. More will be said about him below but of immediate concern are the results of this interaction. In 1618 the Dutch Reformed Church answered point by point five tenets that the Arminians had espoused. This response later became known as the "Five Points of Calvinism" and can briefly be summarized as affirmations of the doctrines of 1) total depravity; 2)unconditional election; 3) limited [particular] atonement; 4) irresistible grace; and 5) perseverance of the saints (Douglas, 1974:181). This understanding of Calvin's teaching became the measure of orthodoxy among many Reformed Protestants (Douglas, 1974:177-182).

James Arminius and Arminianism

James Arminius (1560-1609) was a Dutch theologian who had

misgivings about the popular understanding of Calvin's teachings in his day. While a minister in Amsterdam in 1589 he was appointed to defend one view of predestination against another. In studying this issue he came to doubt the doctrine of predestination altogether. After becoming a professor of theology at Leyden University in 1603, his views brought about a bitter debate. A year after his death his followers systematized his theology and developed the "Five Points of Remonstrants" (Walker, 1970:399). These five points affirmed that 1) the decree of salvation applies to all who believe on Christ and who persevere in obedience; 2) Christ died for all men; 3) the Holy Spirit must help men to do things that are truly good (such as having faith in Christ for Salvation); 4) God's saving grace is not irresistible; and 5) it is possible for those who are Christians to fall from grace" (Douglas, 1974:70). As noted above the Calvinists responded to this statement eight years later. It was also during this year, 1618, that Arminianism was outlawed in the Netherlands and a brief period of persecution was initiated (Walker, 1970:399). Nevertheless, Arminian theology gradually became accepted by many Christians throughout Europe.

John Wesley

The next major development in the history of the free will controversy came over one hundred years later in mid-eighteenth century England. The central character was John Wesley (1703-1791). Through his preaching, one of the most dramatic religious awakenings the world has known took place. It would be out of the movement that formed during this revival that the Church of the

Nazarene would emerge.

Wesley was an ordained priest of the Church of England, but it was not until 1738 that he claimed to have actually undergone a conversion experience. At that point in his life he began evangelistic preaching and attempted to devote himself entirely to God. A few years later, Wesley had a profound spiritual crisis. He did not feel that his devotion was complete. He struggled with this for some time until he had an experience which he later called sanctification. Through this experience he believed that his need had been met, and it was out of this and his Arminian theology that two other theological tenets arose.* These were the doctrines of assurance and of Christian perfection (Purkiser, 1960:96-101).

To appreciate the importance of the doctrine of assurance one must first see it in the context of the times. Wesley concluded that in Calvinist theology one could not be absolutely certain whether or not he or she were saved. Only God who had predestined each individual, could know. Wesley was strongly Arminian on this issue and rejected the idea of predestination along with with what he saw as its accompanying implications (Purkiser, 1960:97). Wesley was convinced that anyone could know God and could be assured that they knew Him. This came by means of "the witness of the spirit" (Purkiser, 1960:98) which meant, primarily, that the Holy Spirit is actively making one aware that one is in communion with God. Thus, assurance was more than hopeful thinking or the blessing of God in some external way; instead, it was internal and personal. One knew, because God had changed him/her and was actually letting him/her know at the level of their innermost

being (Purkiser, 1960:98-99).

The doctrine of Christian perfection is more radical in its implications. It professes a change in the nature of men and women. All human beings are considered to be born sinful and, therefore, spiritually dead. There are three processes, according to Wesley, that remedy this situation. The first is justification, in which the individual, through repentance from sin and acceptance of payment for sin by Jesus Christ, is seen as just in God's eyes. In the second, called regeneration, the individual is brought to life, or reborn spiritually, enabling the person to have faith and be obedient. These first two happen at the point of conversion and are distinct from the third, which may or may not occur at the point of conversion and which provides something more. Wesley claimed that one could and should go on to Christian perfection (hereafter referred to as sanctification), the process whereby the sinful nature (i.e., inbred sin) is removed and the person is given a perfect love for God. This work is done by the Holy Spirit (Greathouse and Dunning, 1981:84-87).

This is a considerably different understanding of the process of sanctification than the Calvinists held. They saw sanctification beginning with justification. The believer would continue to become less sinful and more godly in this life but would never become perfect until after physical death. Inbred sin would remain during one's entire mortal life (Leith, 1973:208-209). William Greathouse, a Nazarene General Superintendent, and Nazarene theologian Ray Dunning, point out that Wesleyan theology recognizes two aspects of sin: The act of sin and the state of sin. The former requires forgiveness or justification while the

latter needs a cure called sanctification (1981:55-56). Thus, there is a radical difference between what Wesley was proclaiming and what already existed within Calvinist theology. To become morally pure, as God is pure, and to be an imitator of God's character was the expectation of Wesley for himself and for those who held to his understanding. The achievement of this state was the only way to become holy and nothing higher could be desired.

Wesley's impact, however, was felt in more than just his theological contributions. He was a gifted organizer. As new converts were made by his preaching, the need developed to group them in some way so they could be instructed and encouraged. These groups were called "bands." This provided individuals with the opportunity to meet on a regular basis to discuss each others failures and successes (Snyder, 1979:36). Many desired contact with Wesley himself, and he with them. Therefore, the "society" was established. This was a large group of people that would meet together on a weekly basis in much the same way as the bands. The difference was that Wesley would meet personally with these groups to pray with them and to give them advice (Snyder, 1979:34-35). Even with this kind of contact, however, Wesley still feared that many would find it difficult to live the proper holy lifestyle. This worry resulted in the creation of the "class meetings," which were basically groupings of twelve people within the societies, each with an appointed leader. The leader, among other things, would inquire as to the behavior of the followers on a regular basis (Snyder, 1979:36-38). Thus, a network was established that allowed for close personal contact and provided a simple means for checking on an individual believers' progress in faith.

Another contribution Wesley made was through his concern for the poor and the outcast. It is worth noting that Wesley was not a social reformer. Politically, he was a Tory, and believed strongly that the governmental system that existed was ordained by God. However, the high value he placed on human beings (he believed Jesus had died for everyone) created a great concern for the welfare of those in need. He regularly visited the sick, the needy, and the imprisoned. He also gave generously to philanthropic endeavors. His greatest assistance to the poor, though, may have been quite unintentional. In all the societies Wesley had established, a set of "General Rules" was provided that all the members were to follow. They were, as the title denotes, "general" rules, but they also contained some specific guidelines for lifestyle. Some of these guidelines had the effect of curbing wasteful habits, which led to greater prosperity for many of his followers. In Wesley's mind, this only created another problem: the temptation of prosperity, a topic to which he gave much attention in his later years. Nevertheless, many in destitute conditions were aided by the Wesleyan (or Evangelical) Revival (Norword, 1974:56-60; see also The Works of John Wesley, 1958).

One of the more incredible features of this movement, in concluding this discussion of Wesley, is the fact that the various societies in England remained in the Church of England until after Wesley's death. Wesley was firmly opposed to creating a new denomination, although, in later years, he admited he could give no definite reason why he should not start one (Norword, 1974:95). His societies of Methodists, as they were called, seem to have been as opposed to the idea as he was. Their desire was to

restore the church, not to create a new one. The English Methodists viewpoint on this provides an interesting contrast with the American situation.

## EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM

American Methodism began in the 1760s. Individual laymen went to America and set up societies without Wesley's knowledge. After having been there a few years, they sent word to England that they needed help. Wesley responded by sending missionaries on a regular basis until the time of the American Revolution. A serious problem had developed at this point, because none of the missionaries were in favor of the Revolution. In fact, some were writing tracts denouncing it and supporting the King. This attitude was in keeping with Wesley's own political views. As the months went by in the early part of the Revolution, all but one of the missionaries returned to England or fled to Canada. The result was that only Colonial pastors were left to carry on the work. These people tended to be in support of the Revolution but the authorities were suspicious of them because of their ties to Wesley. Thus, they were persecuted. Even so, the societies grew during this period to include several thousand people (Norwood, 1974:70-93).

The one foreign missionary that had remained was Francis Asbury. He had been sent by Wesley to be the superintendent of the work in the colonies before the war. Asbury spent much of the war hiding in Delaware. He had tried to remain as neutral as possible about political issues, but he was seen as a Tory in the eyes of the authorities. As the Revolution came to a close, he

was able to come out of hiding and, due to the great respect the American Methodists had for him, he again assumed the role of leader (Norwood, 1974:82-83). It was by no means an easy transition.

During the early 1780s there were Methodists in the South who wanted to grant themselves the right to administer the sacraments, but Asbury persuaded them to wait until the problems of the war had been resolved (the sacraments were to be administered only by the ordained clergy). Once the peace treaty had been signed, some decisions had to be made. Asbury wrote Wesley, informing him of the situation and requesting help in solving the problems. Wesley recognized that keeping the American Methodists in the Church of England was futile. Consequently, he sent Thomas Coke and others with the papers that appointed Asbury and Coke as superintendents. These papers also officially recognized them, and the ministers that came with Coke, as ordained ministers with full rights to administer the sacraments. Asbury accepted this plan warmly but went one step further by insisting that he would only fill the position of superintendent if the American ministers elected him. In December 1784, Asbury was elected and the Methodist Episcopal Church was founded. Coke left shortly after this to take up an assignment in the West Indies. This left Asbury as the head of the new denomination, a position he would hold until his death more than thirty years later (Irwin, 1983:16-19).

With the new group firmly established and the war over, efforts returned to the primary emphasis of preaching the doctrine of holiness.* The Methodists sent circuit riders to the edge of the frontiers to organize societies, after which the rider would

rotate from society to society, serving as their minister. Eventually, a stationary minister was appointed for the societies, and the rider became a traveling evangelist or moved farther West. This contributed greatly to the rapid expansion of the denomination (Norwood, 1974:146-150; Woodbridge, Noll, and Hatch, 1979:142-143).

Another major event in the church was the Second Great Awakening that occurred on the frontier beginning around 1797 and lasting well into the nineteenth century. Some evangelists had been holding camp meetings on the nation's borders during this time. Thousands of converts were being made at these meetings, so the Methodists began to hold similar revival meetings. The approach was well suited to the circuit rider structure and consequently, the denomination experienced rapid growth. By the mid-1800s, the Methodists were the country's largest denomination (Woodbridge, Noll, and Hatch, 1979:142-143). It is estimated that there were 14,000 members at the time of the Revolution and 1,324,000 by around 1850 (Mead, 1981:175).

Despite this rapid growth there were serious problems in Methodism. From the church's beginning in America, there had been controversy over the issue of slavery. Wesley's general rules had prohibited owning slaves but in some states it was against the law to free them. As long as Asbury was Bishop (formerly titled, Superintendent) the problem was held at bay (Irwin, 1983:18). After his death, however, the rift between pro and anti-slavery forces grew wider until an incident in 1844 divided the Church into the Methodist Episcopal Chruch and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Mead, 1981:176). But slavery was not the only

problem.

Doctrinal issues became significant in the mid-nineteenth century. From the beginning, the doctrine of sanctification had been a central emphasis in the church. But as the denomination began it's rapid growth the teaching began to loose prominence. Many began to feel that the church had forsaken its calling. To add to the difficulties, many found the episcopal hierarchy unresponsive to their desires. The result was that smaller groups began to come out of the denomination. The most significant of these was the Wesleyan Methodist Connection in 1843, later to become the Wesleyan Church (Smith, 1957:116-117). (More about the Wesleyans will be presented below.)

Three major issues were involved in the denominational fractures of mid-1800s: slavery, sanctification, and episcopacy. This is not to imply that these were the only problems, but they tended to be the most recurrent. The individual divisions that occurred were usually the result of a number of grievances. This stands somewhat in contrast to the divisions that occurred later, particularly those at the end of the century. At this point in time the focus was on one primary issue: the doctine of holiness.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT

The concept of holiness, while important to the Methodists, was not exclusively a Methodist teaching. Some of the leading proponents of what became the Holiness Movement were Methodists but certainly not all. It is more accurate to see the movement as interdenominational in nature, with it's major influence in and on the Methodist churches. To get a proper perspective on the

movement, one must look to the 1830s.*

In the that period, a Methodist woman in New York, named Phoebe Palmer, took over a Bible study for her sister when her sister moved away. Mrs. Palmer gave a great deal of emphasis to the doctrine of sanctification in her studies. She would also, on a regular basis, give her testimony to those who came. As the study grew, many people came into contact with her work. Eventually, news of this woman began to spread all over the country. Then she began writing books, which sold tens of thousands of copies. They all focused primarily on sanctification and featured many of her own life stories and experiences (Smith, 1957:105,117).

Palmer's teaching, while influential, did not sit well with some Christians. There were many who did not care for the teaching of holiness but even some of those who were sympathetic objected. Some felt that she was giving too much emphasis to the experience of entering sanctification and downplaying the benefits of it (Smith, 1957:125-127). This was considered to be a departure from Wesley since he had emphasized the life lived after the work of grace (Van Note, 1983:37). Nevertheless, there were many others who did agree with her work, and her influence continued to grow until her death in 1874 (Van Note, 1983:36).

Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), a contemporary of Palmer, was another who became influential in American Christianity. Excluding Dwight L. Moody, he was undoubtly the most influential preacher in America during the nineteenth century. Finney was converted in 1821 and joined the Presbyterian Church. About fifteen years later he left the church and started his own

independent work. His theology was a unique mixture that combined the Reformed and Wesleyan traditions. He held strongly to the doctrine of sanctification which, while very similar, was not exactly the same as the Wesleyan understanding. It appears that despite these differences he enjoyed a degree of favor among those of a more Wesleyan orientation (Woodbridge, Noll and Hatch, 1979:37-38).

Just as important as Finney's theology was his method. Finney thought that God had designed the universe to work according to certain laws. If these laws were understood, he concluded, one could regularly bring about revival. Therefore, he held revival campaigns that operated under the guidance of these laws (as he understood them) in order to revive Christians all over the nation. This reflected the highly Arminian nature of his theology, in that he believed that people had the will and the power to instigate revival rather than waiting for God to act. Finney's mode of thinking strongly influenced American Christianity, molding it from this point on (Woodbridge, Noll and Hatch, 1979:145-146,149-150).

Palmer and Finney laid the groundwork upon which the movement would be built, but it did not really come alive until around 1858, the year that a major revival swept the northern part of the country. The revival was not planned, but instead seemed to spring up spontaneously all over the northern United States. There were prayer meetings, studies, and testimony services. Historian Timothy Smith estimates that a half million people were converted as a result. In addition, the revival inspired many Christians to seek holiness in their lives (Smith, 1962:11). It

appeared that there might be a major awakening on the horizon, but with the antagonism and strife brought on by the Civil War, the movement was nearly snuffed out (Van Note, 1983:38-39).

## THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT AT ITS ZENITH

By the end of the Civil War in 1865, there were signs that the issue of holiness was reviving. Camp meetings and holiness meetings began to surface all over the country. In 1867, Rev. John Inskip and other ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church formed the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness (later called the National Holiness Association). The organization was concerned with restoring the doctrine of holiness to churches and with building unity between denominations. It was quite successful in its goals for at least the first ten to fifteen years. From the beginning, people from the Presbyterian, Baptist, Dutch Reformed, Congregational, and Quaker traditions joined the Methodists in seeking and professing sanctification. The loosely structured association allowed for people of various traditions to feel comfortable in coming together without having to make doctrinal concessions or change church membership. As will be seen later, this strength was also a hindrance (Dieter, 1980:96-155). First, however, there is one characteristic of the Holiness Movement that merits additional consideration.

### Social Action

People in the Holiness Movement had no conception that their Christianity was to be a private matter. Instead, individuals were called to social action. This call manifested itself in

various ways over the period from the 1830s until shortly after the turn of the century. Three of the more prominent ways this concern was shown were through abolition, feminism, and giving aid to the outcast.

Abolition

Abolition was always a strong theme in the Holiness tradition. Earlier, it was mentioned that John Wesley was opposed to slavery. Among those who held strongly to holiness standards, this position never faltered. In fact, some of the most influential leaders among the abolitionists, like Orange Scott, Jotham Horton, and Luther Lee, were Wesleyan Methodists (Dayton, 1976:73). Such stands were not made without costly sacrifices. Some of the more radical abolitionists, like William Lloyd Garrison, had gone so far as to denounce the government and the church for supporting slavery, while others, such as those just mentioned, formed splinter groups from the larger denominations. The result was that abolition became associated with divisiveness, thereby weaking the cause among the more moderate and conservative factions. Despite attempts by the the less radical members to remain silent or neutral on the topic, the Methodists, as well as others, suffered severe divisions. From the beginning, the holiness elements in the churches, while certainly not speaking with a united voice, understood slavery to be something contrary to God's law. It was an evil that inspired many to press for its abolition (Smith, 1957:178-203).

Feminism*

A second focus, that had many of it's roots in abolitionism, was feminism. Donald Dayton, a Holiness Movement historian,

points out that just as the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s led to the current feminist movement, the cause of abolition gave rise to the feminist activity of the late nineteenth century. The willingness of holiness people to explore such topics dates back to Wesley. Wesley, an Oxford Don, despised the idea of field preaching until he saw the results that his friend George Whitfield was having. Wesley then tried the method himself and after growing accustomed to it, he concluded that his opposition had been purely cultural rather than scriptural. This, in turn, led to other experiments like his brother's attempts at setting the hymns of the church to the contemporary music of the day. At a point late in his life, Wesley even ordained a few women into the church. With a similar inclination towards innovation, Wesley's heirs began to explore the scriptures to see what further practices had been culturally superimposed on the Bible. One conclusion was that the institution of slavery was totally in opposition to the laws of God. Many women began to see that the same biblical exegesis applied to them, and as they began to weed out what they thought was cultural regarding the roles of women, they became increasingly convinced that the present order was improper. Thus, agitation for change began to appear in some segments. The presence of women like Phoebe Palmer in places of leadership was cited as evidence that women could be leaders. If God was willing to use women to advance knowledge of Himself, then it was difficult to show why women should be denied leadership (Dayton, 1976:85-87).

As the years went by the movement became stronger. A cursory glance at the people involved in the movement illustrates this.

For instance, in 1848 the first organized meeting of feminists, calling for the right to vote, was convened in a Wesleyan Methodist Church in Seneca Falls, New York. Later, Luther Lee ordained Antoinette Brown as a Congregationalist minister, the first ordination of its kind in the country. By the 1860's the Wesleyan Methodists officially allowed for the ordination of women in their denomination. Lucy Stone, a graduate of Oberlin, the school to which Finney had close ties, refused to take the name of her husband Henry Blackwell. She and her husband signed a protest at their wedding in which they declared that their marriage implied "... no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage, as to refuse to recognize the wife as an independent rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with powers no man should possess" (Dayton, 1976:88-89). Dayton also points out that it was this couple who founded the "Woman's Journal" in 1870, which eventually became the principal suffragist paper (1976:89). Cathrine Mumford Booth, wife of William Booth and cofounder of the Salvation Army, felt that "lack of training and opportunity were solely responsible for women's secondary place in society," and she refused to marry her husband until she had convinced him that such was the case (Dayton, 1976:94). There are numerous other examples that could be mentioned, but these provide ample support for the point: The feminist movement was a vital and vibrant part of the Holiness Movement (Dayton, 1976:85-89).

Aid to the Outcast

As important as abolition and feminism were, they can only be

seen in the broader context of the agenda Holiness people had for a complete societal reformation. God was working not only to redeem individuals but society also. The consequence of this understanding was that anything that stood in the way of what was perceived to be God's design for human beings had to be eliminated or altered. Thus, involvement in abolition and feminism were logical outworkings of this understanding. The most significant of these outworkings was the intense effort directed toward remedying the problems of the outcast. Books could (and have) been written on this subject but only a brief overview will be presented here.

In the mid-nineteenth century in America, Protestant churches were becoming well established and more wealthy. Church edifices were becoming more elaborate. In many churches people could rent pews. The result was the creation of a social status system in congregations, which discouraged the poor from attending. Competition between denominations grew. Even the Methodists, who had characteristically tried to include all peoples, got caught up in the trend (Dayton, 1976:102,112). In 1852, the Methodist Episcopal Church removed the following statement from their "Discipline":

> Let all our churches be built plain and decent, and with free seats; but not more expensive than is absolutely unavoidable; otherwise the necessity of raising money will make rich men necessary to us. But if so, we must be dependent on them, yea, and governed by them. And then fare well to Methodist discipline, if not doctrine too (Quoted in Dayton, 1976:102).

The result of these events was that many of the poor were pushed

out or ignored.

Holiness people became increasingly concerned about these trends. As early as the 1840s, people began to actively seek remedies for the problems of the poor and the outcast. Phoebe Palmer, among other efforts, founded the Five Points Mission in 1850 in the heart of the most poverty-stricken area of New York City. Though such endeavors were met with opposition by some church people, they were ultimately successful. This, in turn, encouraged others who had similar projects underway and inspired many others to new attempts (Smith, 1957:169-170).

In 1860, a group of Methodists in New York separated from the nothern denomination and called themselves the Free Methodists (Mead, 1981:183). The "Free" indicated their strong opposition to rented pews, among other things. One of their primary goals, as stated by their leader, B. T. Roberts, was to preach the gospel to the poor. In fact, Roberts came close to saying that only those who ministered to the poor were the true church. Consequently, over the next several years the Free Methodists became leaders in this area. It was during this period work with the outcast reached its high point. As seen below, it was also a point of high tension.

Until the late 1870s most of the city mission work with the poor was conducted under the auspices of the major denominations or was controlled by independent bands of people. In the late 1870s and 1880s, new organizations began to appear. Many were started by individuals who became frustrated with the indifference they witnessed in their own churches. One such case is that of A. B. Simpson. While pastoring a Presbyterian church in New York

City for two years, Simpson had been unable to lead his congregation into working with the poor and the outcast. He therefore resigned and founded a mission that later spread to other cities and became known as the Christian and Missionary Alliance (Dayton, 1976:113). This kind of phenomena increased rapidly over the next twenty or thirty years. However, one of the most radical of the holiness organizations came from outside the United States.

In the 1860s in England, Cathrine and William Booth founded the Salvation Army. This group, with its straightforward approach in confronting the issues of the day, did not always make themselves popular with local residents. In 1880, their first year in the United States, "669 Salvationists were reported 'knocked down, kicked, or brutally assaulted,' 56 army buildings were stormed, and 86 Salvationists imprisoned (the mobs attacked, but the Salvationists were arrested and imprisoned)" (Dayton, 1976:117). In England, journalist W. T. Stead and the Booths joined together to stop the white slave trade in which many girls were being forced into prostitution. To make a point, Stead arranged for the purchase of a girl and then, after doing so, revealed how he had done it in his paper. He was eventually imprisoned, but his efforts resulted in Parliament raising the age of consent, thereby making such operations more difficult (Dayton, 1976:117).

The most notable feature of the Army was its acute awareness of the need for changing social structures while at the same time caring for the immediate needs of individuals. The ironic fact was that it was the churches that seemed most opposed to change,

while ideologies like socialism promoted radical social reorganization. William Booth was sympathetic to the socialist movement he saw developing in his time, but he had some of the same criticisms of it that he had of the church. Dayton quotes Booth as saying,

> This religious cant which rids itself of all the suffering humanity by drawing unnegotiable bills payable on the other side of the grave is not more impracticable than the socialist clap-trap which postpones all redress of human suffering until after the general overturn. Both take refuge in the Future to escape a solution of the problems of the Present, and it matters little to the sufferers whether the Future is on this side of the grave or the other. Both are, for them, equally out of reach (Dayton, 1976:119).

While possibly a little more radical than some of his counterparts, Booth does exemplify the concern felt by many holiness people. For them it was not an either/or situation when it came to saving souls and meeting material needs. Both were integral parts of ministry to human beings. To do one without the other was to fail the propagation of the gospel.

These examples of abolition, feminism, and aid to the outcast are only a few expressions of the values holiness people held. Many other examples exist. For instance, temperance was an important issue. Today this movement is seen primarily as a pietistic expression of personal morality. In the nineteenth century, it was seen more as an attempt to reshape the social environment in such a way that the poor would not be exploited and subjected to the problems of alchoholism (Dayton, 1976:100-101).

The change in perception is due largely to the fact that this standard has been cut off from its historical and theological roots (Smith, 1962:318). Since many potential examples have suffered a similiar fate, the focus here has been on examples that better illustrate what these roots of social reformation were in the Holiness Movement. Later, it will be seen how shifts like these illustrate changes in the Church of the Nazarene; but first, an investigation into the formation of the church and the characteristics of its forerunners is required.

## COME OUTISM

From the above it is clear that two separate trends were occurring together in the 1860s and 1870s. First, there was the coming of age of the Holiness Movement. The National Holiness Association was growing in strength and influence and the doctrine of holiness was making inroads into almost every major denomination. Second, the Methodist Churches were experiencing a limited revival of the holiness doctrine. At the same time there were signs of increasing dissatisfaction with the Methodist Episcopal Churches on the part of those who sought a strong promotion of the doctrine from the pulpit. This resulted in rifts that in some instances led to the founding of new churches. Even so, the Holiness Movement and the Methodist Churches had maintained a relatively peaceful coexistence. As the 1880s appeared on the horizon, however, this amiable relationship rapidly disintegrated.

The reason for the falling out between these groups is due mainly to three factors. The first was the increasing pressure

for, and emphasis on, a rigid holiness platform; the second was a rising tide of antidenominationalism among holiness factions; and the third was the changing character of the Methodist churches. These factors are all strongly linked, making it difficult to analyze them separately. Therefore, they will be reviewed together for the sake of clarity.

The conflict resulting from the interaction of these factors took place primarily between 1880 and 1910. That the conflict was intense is evident. Charles Edwin Jones, in his comprehensive guide to the Holiness Movement, lists the founding, disbanding, and merger dates of almost every holiness denomination or mission in existence before 1970 (1974a). A comparison of founding dates is revealing. In the years from 1860 to 1879 a total of seven holiness churches or organizations were started. For the next six five year periods the figures read as follows: 1880-84, 7; 1885-89, 13; 1890-94, 10; 1895-99, 19; 1900-04, 13; 1905-09, 9. This means that in the period from 1895-1904, thirty-two new holiness churches started which, at an evenly distributed rate, would be about one every four months for ten years. These figures do not include countless congregations that separated to become independent churhces. The movement that had shown so much ecumenical promise, had ironically brought about one of the most divisive happenings in American church history.

The best place to begin to answer the question of why this happened is by looking at the different trends occurring in the Holiness Movement and in the established churches. As has been noted, the Holiness Movement was growing in influence in the early 1880s. The major denominations, and in particular the Methodists,

were also growing, but not just in numbers. They were growing in terms of respectablity. Melvin Dieter notes that "by 1875 the Methodists were swiftly becoming a middle class church. They began to glory in the mass and beauty of their buildings, in their political influence in local communities, as well as in national affairs, and in their status among other established churches in the religious community of the nation" (1980:204-205). Methodist Bishop Matthew Simpson had served as a close advisor to President Lincoln during the Civil War, which certainly gave prestige to the rising denomination. Also, the wide acceptance of Arminian theology and the doctrine of sanctification, of which the Methodists had been the primary proponents, added momentum to their upwardly moving status (Dieter, 1980: 205). This continual increase in respectability seemed to be moving them in an opposite direction from the holiness people, who were intent on changing the status quo. It soon became evident that priorities were quite different.

Another contributing factor to the breach between the two factions was less directly felt at the time. Before the Civil War the nation had been predominantly rural and so were the Holiness Movement and the Methodist churches. After the war, and particularly in the last quarter of the century, the cities began expanding rapidly through the influx of migrants from rural areas. The cities were beginning to prosper, and these urban Methodists shared in the new wealth. In keeping with their newly aquired status services became more formal and liturgical. In contrast, the Holiness Movement had retained their predominantly rural base. Services were characterized by freedom and spontaneity. For many

of the rural holiness people moving to the cities, the Methodist churches seemed cold and uninviting. Consequently, some began to feel that the church was not their own (Dieter, 1980:204-205).

A last factor of importance deals with the shift in theological emphasis. After the Civil War the Methodists began establishing schools and seminaries which soon produced a host of new ministers. Holiness was a neglected issue at these schools. More attention was given to other theological issues of the day, such as German theology. Holiness was seen as irrelevant and was accorded little importance in the curriculum. The fact that fully one-third of the Methodist ministers in 1875 had been serving less than ten years also contributed greatly to the changes. By the last quarter of the century, holiness had become an issue toward which many ministers were, at best, indifferent (Dieter, 1980:206-207).

These factors are not all inclusive but they do give a means by which the "New Methodists" can be contrasted with the holiness people (many, if not most, of the holiness people at this time were Methodists even though they were opposed to current trends in doctrine). The Methodists were middle class, urban people with formal services in sophisticated buildings led by people who had only a minimal concern for holiness doctrine. The holiness people were lower status rural or newly urban people, who highly valued free and informal services and gave high priority to simplicity combined with the doctrine of holiness. These two descriptions could hardly be considered universally applicable but they are appropriate when used as heuristic ideal types.

As matters stood in 1880 it seems unlikely that either the

Methodists or the holiness people had any intention of parting ways. From the first, the Holiness Movement had been centered on the revival of American Christianity and in particular Methodism. Rather than start new denominations the goal was to animate the old ones. That various denominations and churches were touched by the revival is, without a doubt true; Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, to name a few, were all influenced (Smith, 1962:21). Most of the activity, however, occurred within the Methodist Churches out of which the movement originated. Other denominations were experiencing the same strain and changes as the Methodists but because the Holiness Movement had the offical blessing of the Methodist Churches the impact of these changes were a great deal more significant within that particular denomination. Consequently, the focus here is on the interface between the Methodist and the holiness people, even though at this point the two were closely intertwined. How the two came unravelled explains the rise of the new holiness churches and organizations.

The early 1880s marked the beginning of the conflict. It was at this time that some of the first holiness organizations began to appear. Timothy Smith claims that these groups were mostly from the Midwest or South and were "largely rural, were more emotionally demonstrative, emphasized rigid standards of dress and behavior, and often scorned ecclesiastical discipline" (Smith, 1962:27). One example of this sort of group was Daniel S. Warner's Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), founded in 1880. Warner felt that all denominational organization should be done away with, leaving individuals united together by the "fellowship

of the Spirit" (Smith, 1962:28). This type of occurrence naturally brought concern to the Methodist leadership and holiness promoters began to find themselves on the defensive. The fact that the doctrine of sanctification had already been coming under attack by some in the Methodist leadership only served to make the problem even more pronounced. Most acutely affected by these events were the more urban, more theologically oriented holiness people. They were opposed to actions such as Warner's and yet at the same time found themselves under a great deal of suspicion from the church leadership. The pressure continued to grow.

During this same time there was a great proliferation of holiness periodicals, publishing houses, and agencies. The increasing influence of these arms of the holiness forces was seen as a threat by the ecclesiastical authorities in the Methodist churches (Dieter, 1980:210-211). In 1881, the bishops issued a letter claiming that holiness associations tended to segment rather than unify the church and that they produced alienation. They felt that the matter of holiness was best handled within the framework of the church. At the same time the letter reaffirmed Wesley's theology. The net affect of the letter was to give legitimacy to the argument that the opponents of the holiness movement had been making. If the leadership of the church was in support of sanctification then why continue these extra-church organizations? In effect, the holiness promoters were made to appear sectarian and divisive (Smith, 1962:38-39).

As has been noted, it was the experience of many at the local level that holiness was not being taught, despite the bishops' claims. Consequently, organizations like the National Holiness

Association continued to be of great importance in meeting the needs of those people for fellowship with others of like mind. The fact that the bishops refused to give emphasis to holiness only helped solidify in people's minds that indeed the church was drifting away from the essentials and that it was their task to reverse the course. With each passing year the battle escalated. Due to the loose structure of the National Holiness Association it was difficult to keep members in line and, with increasing frequency, splinter denominations began to form, once again causing embarassment to loyalists in the church. In the 1890s the crisis reached its climax.

In 1889, J. M. Boland, a Methodist Episcopal South preacher, published his book The Problem of Methodism in which he claimed the doctrine of sanctification was improperly understood in the present time. This work, and others like it, unleashed a flurry of books and articles that debated sanctification for the next twenty years. By 1895, it appears that many of even the most loyal church people in the holiness movement had given up on reforming Methodism. New colleges and seminaries were started to promote the holiness cause (Bucke, 1964:623-625). As previously mentioned it was in the period 1895-1904 that 32 new holiness churches or missions were started. Whether forced out or simply having given up, the holiness people were leaving the Methodists Churches in large numbers by the turn of the century.

Even though the focus of the battle had been doctrinal and ecclesiastical, these issues were not the only factors involved. The rural vs. urban problem eventually served to establish two sets of priorities and lifestyles that could not be reconciled

(Dieter, 1980:205). There were also actions taken by each party that unwittingly contributed to the strength of the opposition. The Methodists only strengthened the resolve of the Holiness people by trying to close down their associations. Conversely, the Holiness Movement brought many people into the church, but in so doing, local congregations became so swamped with new members that it was difficult to maintain discipline. The result was a laxing of the rules of conduct, a consequence most certainly contrary to their intentions (Dieter, 1980:207). That many other seemingly peripheral factors were involved is certain but the key issue was change. The value system under which the Methodists lived was rapidly changing, while the Holiness Movement sought to protect the value system that had remained relatively intact for a hundred years. Neither faction was successful in convincing the other of the validity of their respective courses. Both sides had seemingly turned the theological problem into an all or nothing issue and with such polarization reconciliation became virtually impossible. The rapidly changing social milieu of the urban Methodists only drove the wedge in farther. It can be concluded, then, that the division occurred due to a complex web of theological and sociological issues. Decisions were made that changed the face of American Christianity.

## FOUNDATIONS OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

One of the changes resulting from the conflict was the emergence of the Church of the Nazarene in 1908. This date marks the uniting of three distinct groups that had roots extending back more than twenty years. All three groups were collections of

holiness refugees from the battles of the last century. A brief recounting of their respective histories illustrates this.

All three groups have similar stories, differing primaily in time and in geographic location. One group formed in the East, another in the West, and a third in the South. The South was the first to experience the purge tactics exercised by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. A short time later the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted the same measures (Smith, 1962:44-45). Individual members, and in particular ministers, who associated with holiness groups or held special meetings not approved by the church, were readily expelled. These tactics, however, were not widely used until the late 1890s. All three groups of future Nazarenes had formed by this time and the strong pressure exerted by the Methodists contributed to the growing number of people looking for holiness fellowship in these types of organizations. In places like Texas and California, this was especially true. In the Southeast, however, where holiness associations were not strong and Methodists preachers adhered to holiness doctrine, a tolerable situation was maintained. Therefore, while pressure became more intense it should not be presummed that it was felt in equal measure across the nation. There were pockets of tension and pockets of calm, although the former became significantly more numerous as the years passed.

One other factor that should be understood about these schismatic events is the position in which the Methodists bishops found themselves. The bishops in both the North and the South were, for the most part in agreement theologically with the holiness people (Smith, 1962:53). Even after the mid-1890s they

sought to restore the doctrine of perfect love to their preachers. The result, however, was usually nothing more than the development of a new generation of holiness preachers that were lured away by holiness denominations (Bucke, 1964:626-627). The bishops were also interested in establishing urban missions but when these missions started becoming independent holiness congregations they became leary of such endeavors (Smith, 1962:48). The situation had become very difficult for the bishops by 1900. They were deeply concerned about the new breed of ministers who were drifting ever farther from Wesleyan theology and they needed the holiness people to help fight this trend. Yet many of the holiness people spurned church authority, making it difficult for church leaders to give them any support. The bishops were confronted with the choice of preserving theology and risking a collapse in church authority or preserving church authority and risking the destruction of the theology to which they were committed. Understandably, the response of the church leadership seemed almost schizophrenic in some instances. Awareness of this dilemma gives some perspective in studying the parent groups of the Church of the Nazarene.

## Eastern Forerunners

The story of the Church of the Nazarene in the East begins in Providence, Rhode Island in 1887. It was during this year that the People's Evangelical Church was organized. The membership was made up of people who had literally been run out of their own congregations. In 1880 the pastor at St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church arranged for a holiness revival meeting which

resulted in an awakening of the members to the holiness experience. The succeeding three pastors, however, were not in sympathy with holiness theology. The second of these pastors, backed by several laymen, began pushing for social events in the church to which the majority holiness group was opposed. When the church board resisted these changes, the pastor refused to appoint as Sunday School Superintendent, a holiness man named Fred Hillery. He also canceled the "holiness meeting" which had always been a part of the church program. The third pastor was just as unsympathetic as the second. Eventually the holiness people felt that they had to establish a separate meeting to support each other. This they did in 1886, but they made certain their scheduled meetings did not conflict with church activities. They also made certain that they consistently attended the church services. The holiness association grew so large that they eventually had to use a meeting hall, where before they had been meeting in homes. The current pastor responded to these events by removing three of the most prominent holiness individuals from their class leadership positions and then declaring that involvement in the association was an act of insubordination to the church. After a year of relentless attack, the pastor dissolved the holiness classes themselves and publicly announced that the "disorderly" members were to attend a class which he would lead. The class was schedueled to meet at the same time as the association meeting. Only one person attended; others sent word that they would be willing to meet at any other time. Shortly thereafter, the pastor removed all teachers who were tied to the holiness association. This proved to be the final blow.

Hillery notified the presiding elder that the association would be holding Sunday School and church services that conflicted with the Methodist church's until the wrongs they had suffered were corrected. The pastor responded by trying and expelling Hillery. Hillery appealed to the conference, but to no avail. At this point forty-eight persons left the church to join Hillery in founding the new church (Smith, 1962:54-57).

The Rhode Island group was not the only New England group in which these kind of problems developed. Other holiness people were forming associations and churches for similar reasons in Massachusettes and New Hampshire. In 1890 several of these groups united to form the Central Evangelical Holiness Association. At first there was little growth because loyalists to the church had established a holiness association that opposed come-outism. Eventually, though, they experienced the same pressures as the earlier groups and they too were forced to withdraw and join a group called the Evangelical Association. Through a series of mergers and divisions of the association all over New England (mainly over polity), a sizeable group emerged that joined with the Central Evangelical Holiness Association in uniting with the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America in 1896 and in 1897. While hardly a denomination the merging groups were developing an identity (Smith, 1962:59-66).

There are at least two features brought by these groups to the Association of Pentecostal Churches in America. The first is that of leadership. While there was no dominant figure in these groups there were several notable leaders. Some, like Fred Hillery and C. Howard Davis, would become important leaders in the

Church of the Nazarene. Each of these leaders was strongly independent and it was this characteristic that resulted in their second contribution; that of congregationalism (Smith, 1962:71).

The various people who made up these groups had had enough of episcopal church government. They wanted to insure that the congregation had a voice in matters of church government and that the ministers could preach without fear of reprisal. They had become highly suspicious of episcopacy, viewing it as almost antithetical to holiness living. This strong distrust had an impact on the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America, and subsequently, the Church of the Nazarene.

The Association of Pentecostal Churches of America, with which these associations joined, had a much different beginning. In 1894, William Howard Hoople, along with his friend Charles BeVeir, opened a mission in a saloon in Brooklyn, New York. Hoople was converted in a Congregational church, and was later led into entire sanctification through a Methodist prayer meeting. After experiencing sanctification, he felt he was called to minister to the poor. Consequently, he opened his mission. The mission soon became a church, and by 1894 the New York Holiness Association had been organized, consisting of people from various denominations. Within a year, another independent church emerged out of this group (Smith, 1962:66-67).

During this series of events a man named O. J. Copeland moved from Vermont to Brooklyn to open up a business. Copeland had been involved with some of the leading holiness people in his state who in turn had ties with both the Evangelical Association and the Central Evangelical Holiness Association. He began attending

Hoople's church and eventually, because of his contacts, some of the Vermont leaders decided to move to Brooklyn to join the work (Smith, 1962:65-66). These leaders included people like Susan N. Fitkin who served as President of the Nazarene Foriegn Missionary Society for thirty-three years (1915-1948), and Hiram F. Reynolds, who was a General Superintendent in the Church of the Nazarene for twenty-five years (1907-1932) (Taylor, 1970:184,197). Of more immediate significance, however, were the ties they, and others who migrated, had with the New England Holiness Movement.

By late 1896, Reynolds and Hoople were seeking a merger between the Central Evangelical Holiness Association and their own group in Brooklyn. Some of the churches from the former group responded immediately but most of the fifteen congregations that joined did so at a meeting in 1897. A result of this action was that certain Methodist ministers who had been leary of leaving their churches decided to do so. They would no longer be striking out on their own but would be joining a new, strong holiness organization. Two of these ministers, H. N. Brown and Albert B. Riggs, worked with Reynolds in seeking out every independent holiness congregation they could find to bring them into the new group. They were very sucessful (Smith, 1962:71).

By 1907, there were forty-five churches in predominantly urban areas with a total membership of 2,256. New home missions programs had been started and foreign mission programs were undertaken in India and the Cape Verde Islands. Also, the group had their own periodical and had established a Bible school which they named Pentecostal Collegiate Institute, located in Rhode Island. Of at least equal significance was the move toward

centralized organization. With the task of missionary oversight, a nearly disastrous attempt to start a school, and an ever growing membership, leaders felt a need for more structure. This they accomplished through years of careful and patient negotiation. However, they were far from becoming episcopal. The strong congregational tendencies resulting from earlier conflicts, combined with the Baptist background of some of the members, prevented a strong centralized government. By the time they merged with Church of the Nazarene, however, they were willing to compromise (Smith, 1962:71-92).

Western Forerunners

The Western part of the Church of the Nazarene had its beginning in Los Angeles, California, with a man named Phenias F. Bresee. Bresee was born in upstate New York in 1838, but by the time he had reached his late teens his family moved to Iowa. Just prior to the move, Bresee was converted at a Methodist "protracted meeting." After this event he began preaching. Before the age of twenty he was given a minister's license and an assignment as a circuit rider. Being a rider on the frontier was not easy and Bresee experienced many hardships in the course of his work. On at least one occasion he had to be relocated because of his abolitionist stance in a pro-Southern church. Later he became an ordained minister. A turning point came in his life in 1867 when he experienced sanctification, although he did not know what it was called when he experienced it. From that point he went on to become one of the most important preachers in the Iowa district (Moore, 1973:9-28).

Hard times came for Bresee in 1883 when disaster struck a gold-mining venture in Mexico in which he had invested a large sum of money. Embarrassed and in poverty, he moved to Los Angeles. Within two weeks after his arrival he was appointed pastor of the First Methodist Church. During his three year tenure, he nearly doubled the congregation of 385 members (Moore, 1973:29-32). It was also during this assignment in 1884 that Bresee came into a full understanding of what he had experienced in 1867. From then on he began to include the doctrine of sanctification in his preaching. By the time Bresee was given a new appointment in Pasadena, he had made his church the largest and was paid the highest salary of any pastor on the district. Similarly, after two years in the new town of Pasadena he had taken a church of 130 members and increased it to 700. Again, he was the highest paid pastor. Bresee's concerns encompassed more than numbers: while in Pasadena he established a mission for Orientals, and succeeded in making the town the first "dry" one in the state. Although Bresee had arrived amid difficult circumstances, they did not remain so for long (Smith, 1962:99-101).

Bresee's influence continued to grow until shortly after 1890. Through his efforts, and the work of evangelists William McDonald and George D. Watson, the experience of entire sanctification was a strong force in Southern California. In the fall of 1891, Bishop William F. Mallalieu, an ardent advocate of holiness, appointed Bresee Presiding Elder of the Los Angeles District. Bresee worked in this position for a year significantly increasing the number of people who were converted or sanctified in his customarily successful manner; but in 1892 hard times

returned (Smith, 1962:101-103).

In the Fall of 1892 Bishop John H. Vincent was the presiding officer for the Southern California Conference. Vincent was a strong opponent to the doctrine of sanctification. At the conference, he cancelled the evangelistic meetings, had the elders give written reports rather than spoken ones, and removed Bresee from his office, appointing him pastor of the Simpson church. The significance of this last action was that Simpson was the one church on the district opposed to holiness teaching. The 2,500 seat church was established in 1889 by wealthy citizens in the area who claimed that they had better facilities than any theater or opera house in California. The move was obviously intended to sanction Bresee. Other holiness leaders received similar treatment (Smith, 1962:103).

Bresee took on the assignment as best he could, but the church was heavily in debt, membership was dwindling, and few were receptive to his holiness preaching. After a few months he notified the congregation that he would be staying less than a year and advised them to unite with First Church. The next year he was appointed to the Boyle Heights Church which was smaller and an obvious demotion. Despite these events, Bresee managed to remain in positions of leadership on the district (Smith, 1962:104).

Since his removal from office in 1892, Bresee had been seeking an appointment as a city missionary for the church in Los Angeles (Smith, 1962:106). In 1894, Rev. and Mrs. T. P. Ferguson invited Bresee to join them in their interdenominational Peniel Mission (Smith, 1962:49). Bresee accepted and asked for a regular

appointment from the Methodist Church but was refused by Bishop John N. Fitzgerald for undetermined reasons. Bresee then applied for a "supernumerary relation" status only to have the request tabled. Again reasons are unclear, especially in light of the fact that the presiding elder supported the idea. Bresee was also elected a director of the University of Southern California and a trustee of the Long Beach Camp (Smith, 1962:106-107). Nevertheless, he was placed in the position of joining the Peniel Mission or staying with the Methodist Episcopal Church. After three days of prayer he chose the former (Smith, 1962:50).

Initially the project went well but as time went by it became evident that Bresee and the Fergusons had different ideas about the mission. The following summer Bresee left California for a few weeks to hold camp meetings. When he returned he discoverd he had been dismissed from the mission. Thus, in the fall of 1895 Bresee found himself without a church or a mission (Smith, 1962:109).

Still convinced that he was called to minister to the poor, Bresee, and close friend, Dr. Joseph P. Widney (at the time president of the University of Southern California), joined together in starting a church. They felt that the poor needed more than a mission. They needed a church of their own. They called the church the Church of the Nazarene. Widney came up with the name, claiming that it represented the lowly position of Christ. To be from Nazareth in Jesus' lifetime was despicable, and yet it was the name by which he identified himself; Jesus of Nazareth. Sunday School was set up, youth meetings were held, and medical assistance and clothing were offered. Thus, efforts to

meet both the spiritual and physical needs of the individuals went together in the practice of the Church of the Nazarene from the very beginning (Smith, 1962:109-112).

The characteristics of the church that distinguished it from other churches were several in number. Five, in particular, are worth noting. First, the building and services were set up in such a way that they would not discourage the poor from attending. The expressed aim was to preach to the poor. Second, the church government was democratic. Bresee and Widney had been named General Superintendents, but this was due more to their charisma than to any effort to delegate authority. Church boards ran the programs and the superintendents merely rubber stamped the ordination of ministers by congregations. Third, the original constitution made a specific provision for the ordination of women. Any close analysis of the early history reveals that women were actively involved in the leadership of the church (Smith, 1962:113-114). Fourth, Bresee and his fellow Nazarenes felt that "discipline depended upon the work of the Holy Spirit" (Smith, 1962:115). Bresee was inclined to believe that the fewer the rules the better. Members only needed advice. Thus, issues concerning the use of tobacco and membership in secret orders were advised against but were not made a limiting factor for membership. In fact, the General Rules were merely a simplified version of the Methodist Discipline which both, encouraged proper Christian conduct, and discouraged involvement in various kinds of unholy behavior. The only rule that was added forbade voting to license liquor establishments. The final distinction, not suprisingly, was the high place given to the doctrine of

sanctification (Smith, 1962:113-118).

From the beginning, the church grew at a rapid rate. By the end of the first year there were 350 members in one church, growing in ten years to 3,195 members in several churches. Most of these churches were located in California, but some had spread as far East as Chicago. What makes these developments interesting is that there was no intention of starting a denomination. It was not until 1899 that Bresee began to entertain such thoughts (Smith, 1962:123). After 1903, however, this had definitely changed. Bresee who had been the lone superintendent since 1898 (Widney rejoined the Methodist Church)* began to feel that there was a need for a holiness denomination that would welcome those who had been forced out of fellowship with their churches. The next five years were preoccupied with this process of building a new denomination (Smith, 1962:131-153).

One more event that should be noted in passing was the founding of Pacific Bible School. This institution was founded by three women who sensed a need for the training of Christian workers. Bresee was cold to the idea at first but later was to look back and agree that it had been a good decision. The school opened in 1902 and soon became a major training ground for future leaders (Smith, 1962:137-140).

East Meets West

By 1906 the Association of Pentecostal Churches in America and the Church of the Nazarene had already become well aquainted and were seeking union. The Nazarenes had learned of the group from individuals who had migrated to California from New England.

They arranged informal meetings and in 1907 the leaders of the two groups came together and worked out the basis for union. There were remarkably few points of contention. Only one proved to be of any major consequence (Smith, 1962:206-211).

The problem was whether property belonged to the local congregation or the denomination. Suprisingly, the issue of superintendency was not a major factor. The leaders of the Eastern group were feeling the need for more structure and Bresee's very limited superintendency was appealing. It was simply a matter of convincing people at the grass roots of the need for structure. The real issue was the status of the local congregations. It did not seem likely that these loosely structured associations would be willing to give up full ownership of their property and yet Bresee felt it was necessary for this to happen. If the church was to be successful, individual members must feel confident that what they put their time and effort into would not simply disappear if their congregation became dissatisfied and left the denomination. Eventually a compromise was reached where the Eastern churches that did not want to turn their property over were not required to do so. All new churches, however, were under the new system. Thus, the last obstacle was removed (Smith, 1962:206-214).

In October, the churches officially met, sending representatives to work out the details of union. Publishing houses were combined, official periodicals were established, and whatever amendments needed to be made to the constitution or rules were made. In a few days, a new denomination emerged called the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. The Superintendents of the

new denomination were Bresee and Hiram F. Reynolds. But this was not the final event in the church's development. At these meetings were some representatives who were the leaders of the Southern movement (Smith, 1962:211-214).

Southern Forerunners

The story of the Southern wing of the Church of the Nazarene is in some ways more difficult to review than that of the Eastern and Western branches. Because of the diversity of people and organizations it is problematic to select one or two examples that illustrate what happened overall. At the same time, reviewing the history of each individual group would be too tedious for present purposes. Consequently, only a very sketchy review is given of the various groups. The focus will be on the characteristics these people had just prior to their uniting with the church.

The Holiness Church of Christ, organized in 1905, was the denomination that united in the 1908 merger. This church extended all the way from Texas to Tennessee. The oldest and most influential forerunner of this group was the New Testament Church of Christ.

The New Testament Church of Christ was started by Robert Lee Harris in 1894. Harris preached at a number of meetings in Tennessee in the early 1890s, becoming locally famous. In 1893 he debated a Baptist preacher named J. N. Hall (Smith, 1962:153). Hall kept boasting about how he would "skin" Harris. Harris, however, made a convincing stand and the whole episode served mainly to enhance Harris's credibility (Redford, 1974:67). However, the presence of people like Harris was making the

leadership of the West Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, uncomfortable; so they passed regulations that greatly restricted the efforts of such evangelists. Harris responded to the action by resigning from the Methodist body and starting a new church that was committed to following only the New Testament in matters of church organization and personal conduct. The new church was characterized by its fiercely congregational stance and its emphasis on renouncing all "worldliness" such as "sinful amusements, extravagence in dress, the wearing of jewelry, membership in secret societies, and the use of opium, tobacco or intoxicating drinks" (Smith, 1962:153). Harris died in 1893 and his wife, Mary Lee Haris took over the leadership (Smith, 1962:153-154).

Mrs. Harris, who had come from West Texas, traveled there for revival meetings during the late 1890s. On her journeys she would stop at various places to hold services and sometimes organize congregations. She continually encouraged other women in her acquaintance to be active and help organize congregations wherever possible. Through these efforts, several churches were established in the south-central states (Smith, 1962:154-155).

As would be expected, with growth came the problem of management. This was especially true for the Texas members who were pursuing city mission work and had no support mechanism from within the church. As a result, an oversight council developed in Texas, later expanded to become a crude type of denominational structure. While hardly a move toward episcopal government it was a step toward a more defined organization. These difficulties also resulted in major policy changes. Whereas before,

organizational design was based on specific scriptural decrees, now it was held that the organizational design must not conflict with scripture. This new openness helped pave the way for the merger of the group with the Independent Holiness Church (Smith, 1962:156-159).

The Independent Holiness Church began as a result of a revival held by Charles B. Jernigan in 1901 at Van Alstyne, Texas. Through the expulsion tactics of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the defection of many from the same body, numerous individuals found themselves without a church home. Many of these people belonged to the Holiness Association of Texas (discussed below), but felt a need for a church home. Jernigan, James B. Chapman and others began actively promoting new congregations. This was not necessarily viewed in a positive light by the holiness association since their main objective had been to reform the mainline churches; however, the homeless became weary of their isolation, and throughout its four-year existence the new church provided an alternative to the Methodist Church (Smith, 1962:167-168).

In 1904 and 1905, the Independent Holiness Church met with the New Testament Church of Christ to affect a merger. The two groups had come into contact with each other primarily through geographic proximity. A major hitch in the adjoinment was the lack of concern about a congregational system evidenced by the former group. Eventually a compromise was reached and the process of combining leadership and facilities was undertaken. The only other problem encountered was the fact that the Independent Holiness Church had allowed some people to join without being

baptized. This was totally incompatible with the practice of their future partners. Independent Holiness people, however, agreed to make baptism an ordinance, and the New Testament people were willing to leave the mode of baptism open to individual choice. Thus, through compromise, a new denomination was born (Smith, 1962:168-171).

In 1907 a small accession was made by the new Holiness Church of Christ. T. J. Shingler brought his independent congregation of Donaldsville, Georgia and their missionary to Mexico, Samuel M. Stafford, into the fellowship. This is essentially how the church stood at the time of the formation of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene at Chicago in 1907. Representatives attended this meeting and were making plans for uniting with the Northern groups. As will be seen below, uniting North with South was not nearly so easy as combining East with West. Before turning to this event, one other group should be mentioned.

In 1894 E. C. De Jernett was released from his conference duties (by his own request) in the Southern Methodist Church so he could begin evangelistic work. He bought land near Greenville, Texas and founded the Peniel community. Eventually the town established a college, a holiness publishing firm, an orphanage, camp meeting grounds, and before too long, gave rise to the Holiness Association of Texas. In 1898 De Jernett was expelled from the Methodist Chruch for holding unauthorized meetings. Being cut off from organizational ties he began to seek out others in difficult circumstances and began to organize bands. In December 1899, the holiness association was formed to unite these groups. The idea was that the association was to be a support

group for reforming the church. The next few years brought continual growth to the group (Smith, 1962:161-166). The Holiness Church of Christ worked with this organization, and by 1908 had become very influential among the membership. When they joined the Nazarenes then a greater part of the association went with them. By 1910 the Holiness Association of Texas had disbanded (Jones, 1974a:227).

AlThough the Holiness Church of Christ was around for only a few years, two important contributions were made. One was the leadership inherited by the Nazarenes. Aaron M. Hills (one of the most influential Nazarene theologians), "Bud" Robinson (a highly respected evangelist), and Edgar P. Ellyson (one of the first general superintendents) all came from the Peniel community. A second contribution was an early unification with the Nazarenes. In April 1908, several people in the association, mostly from Peniel, joined the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene (Smith, 1962:218). This was a full six months before the meetings with the Holiness Church of Christ. With members of the association having joined, it was easier for the Holiness Church to join. This in turn encouraged more association members to unite. Thus, members of the association were the catalyst for the joining process. Again, groups that had sought to be loyal to their churches became prime sources of new denominations.

## North Collides With South

The process leading to the unification of the Southern groups with the Northern group in October, 1908, was not a smooth process. This was because of the stress the Southerners put on

certain lifestyle standards. One area of emphasis was in aiding the outcast through orphanages, homes for unwed mothers, and missions. This particular feature fit in well with the Northern branch and became a strong point of solidarity. Two other emphases had adverse consequences.

One of these issues was eschatological in nature. The Southern group, in keeping with the regional culture, was strongly premillenial (Smith, 1962:151-152). In the discussion on theology at the beginning of this chapter, reference was made to a one thousand year reign of Christ. This period is known as the Millenium. Premillenialists believe that the return of Christ could happen at any moment and that the Millenium will shortly follow. The other major viewpoint is that of the Postmillenialists. They anticipate a thousand year period when by the power of the Holy Spirit, and through enlightment, people will be able to live in obedience to God. After this time, Christ will return to judge the world and then rule forever. The difference between the two views at first appears trivial, but a closer examination reveals serious implications (Leitch, 1957:80-81).

The premillenialist understanding is pessimistic with regard to the present. The belief is that the present state of affairs in the world is not open to any substantial change for the better. Matters will only get worse until Christ returns and then the Millenium will begin. When this viewpoint is combined with an expectation of an imminent return of Christ, the role of personal evangelism, as opposed to social reform, takes on a great deal of significance. Conversely, the postmillenialist tend to be optimistic. It is believed that there will be setbacks, but

ultimately God will be victorious in establishing his kingdom on earth. It is held that individuals need to be converted, but social reform is given great emphasis since it helps usher in the Millenium. Thus, a strong adherence to either of these views has a definite affect on present behavior (Leitch, 1957:80-81).

At the time of the merger postmillenialism was rapidly becoming associated with what would later be called the "social gospel."* Consequently, the Southerners looked with suspicion on their counterparts to the North (Smith, 1962:214). In order to merge, the North had to demonstrate to the Southern group their concern for peoples' souls.

Timothy Smith claims that this difference was based more on the tenor of the times than on any specific theological issue. After the Civil War, the North, who had scored a great "moral" victory, could foresee only progress. The South, which had had it's social structure destroyed was not nearly so optimistic. Therefore the regional factions tended to interpret the nebulous matter of the Millenium according to cultural experience (Smith, 1962:151-152). This experiential difference also manifested itself in at least one other form.

The South tended to be more legalistic than the North. Again due to the social upheaval in the South there was a strong need to re-establish an orderly way of life (Smith, 1962:151-152). Some sought this through the church. The result was a less tolerant (though likely more committed) church situation. Thus, the merger between North and South was bound to be a difficult endeavor.

Birth of a National Denomination

The Southern representatives present at the 1907 Assembly had been actively involved in the process of combining facilities, setting up government, and establishing proper rules of conduct. While they did not take a vote on joining, the representatives did go back to their constituencies with a positive response. Nevertheless, problems developed (Smith, 1962:214-215).

At the Assembly the Southerners had managed to secure a compromise statement concerning the second coming of Christ. They also had the wording changed in the "Special Advices" to give a more forceful prohibition against joining secret societies and using tobacco. The representatives were pleased with the overall outcome and actively encouraged unification with the Nazarenes. Some in the South, however, saw the compromises as giving in to improper standards. Reports coming back from the Chicago conference that some people had dressed in a worldly manner only heightened the problem. The task of convincing some Southerners of the sincerity of the Northerners was difficult (Smith, 1962:215-217).

The representatives went on the road to all parts of the South, answering questions and promoting the union. The various regional papers were used as sounding boards and in some cases entire copies of the Chicago statement were printed. Bit by bit, the leaders were successful. A major contribution to their cause came from the Nazarenes themselves. A prominent Nazarene preacher had been invited to speak at Peniel, Texas in January, 1908. Through this, and a series of other conections, Phinias F. Bresee was invited to speak in April at the same place. Bresee took this

opportunity to organize these people into a Church of the Nazarene and thereby turned the momentum towards union. While in Texas, Bresee made a stop at Pilot Point, another holiness stronghold, and arranged for a union meeting to be held there in October. He hoped that by having the meeting on their home ground, it would greatly increase the willingness of the Southerners to join. His efforts proved profitable (Smith, 1962:214-220).

By the time October came, a great deal of effort had been expended in minimizing and reconciling differences. Even so, the conference did not always go smoothly. In trying to reach an agreement on the prohibition of tobacco and the use of wedding rings, intense debate broke out. Timothy Smith records that Nazarene leader H. D. Brown became so frustrated that on several occasions he gave speeches urging that if uniting would mean a endless addition of rules then they should let the Southerners go. Bresee, however, was intent on a national denomination and kept insisting that the differences must be overcome. This perseverance paid off (Smith, 1962:220).

Other than some revisions on rules dealing with dress, tobacco, and the exclusion of the ring ceremony from the marriage ritual, little else was changed. The desire for unity and a church home proved to be the stronger desire. On October 13, 1908, the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene became a national denomination (Smith, 1962:220).

Later Additions

Though the Pilot Point merger was the most significant it was not the last. Several other groups joined at later dates. A

spectrum of groups, from local churches to holiness associations, joined also (Smith, 1962:224-242). One of the most prominent of these was the Pentocostal Mission which joined in 1915. This Tennessee group had been represented at the 1907 and 1908 meetings but did not unite primarily because of the lack of a specific premillenial stance (Smith, 1962:194). Holding the General Assembly in Nashville in 1911 was a fruitless gesture to resolve this problem. It was not until after the death of their leader in 1914 that the group decided to join (Smith, 1962:198-199). Another significant occasion was the joining of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland in 1915. Its primary importance was the international dimension that it gave to the denomination (Smith, 1962:238-242). It was also to mark the end of any sizable mergers. The main exception to this was the joining of the Laymen's Holiness Association in 1922 which brought a few hundred Dakotans into the church (Smith, 1962:298-315). After 1915, though, the process of unification among holiness groups came to a halt. Some of the reasons are discussed in the next section.

## THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

Having become a truely national denomination in 1908 the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene began to take on the structure and character it has today. In some ways the denomination has changed only slightly from its original features and yet in other ways it is barely recognizable. The reasons are numerous. An analysis of some of the factors involved could comprise a major study in themselves. For purposes here the focus will be on the dynamics involved in change within the denomination. The

objective is to observe and offer plausible explanations. As has been the case to this point, efforts are centered on locating potential social forces rather than a definitive statement on what occurred in any given instance. In order to accomplish this goal the time span has been divided into three twenty-five year segments. This has two advantages. First, it provides more managable units of time for discussion. Second, it gives a better generational understanding. The two major works dealing with the church's history take this approach -- Called Unto Holiness: The Formative Years of the Church of the Nazarene, Timothy L. Smith, 1908-1933; Called unto Holiness, II, William T. Purkiser, 1934-1958. With these qualifications and methods in mind the following historical observations are presented.

## 1908-1933

### Polity

As might be expected with any new organization, a great deal of energy in the early years was given to setting up a manageable government. Perhaps this process was facilitated by the fact that those who formed the denomination had already been struggling with organizational problems for years. The form that arose from their combined efforts was what Timothy Smith calls a "modified Presbyterian polity" (Smith, 1962:193).

The highest authority in the church was given to the General Assembly. This group, which was to meet every four years, consisted of representatives from the various regional subdivisions. It was composed of an equal number of laymen and elders in order to balance the power. The next level became the

district assemblies. These asemblies were elected by the local churches but the ratio of laymen to ministers was much higher. It was this group that elected the General Assembly delegates (Taylor, 1970:179-181). The importance of this structure is the amount of power that was placed in the hands of laymen at the grass roots level. The memory that many of the founders had of the abuses that they had experienced under the episcopal system contributed to this arrangement.

Regarding the relationship of the local church to the denomination, a compromise between congregationalism and episcopalism was devised. The title to church facilities was to be held by the local church but if any congregation decided to secede from the church or conduct themselves in a manner contrary to the church guidelines, the property became the denomination's. As to local concerns, the local congregation could call its own pastor and manage its own affairs in whatever manner it saw fit. This arrangement guaranteed the best of both sides in the minds of the founders (Smith, 1962:208-209).

The administrative branch of the church emerged rather than being specifically designed. In 1908, Edgar P. Ellyson joined Bresee and Reynolds as General Superintendents. The General Assembly, whose responsibility it was to elect these officers, primarily saw these men as overseers without much judicial or legislative power. As time went by, however, it became apparent that the superintendents would have to become more directly involved in such issues (Smith, 1962:245-250). An event happened in 1916 that illustrates this process.

A pastor at the college church in Pasadena, California became

involved in a theological dispute with some of the faculty who were attending his church. Eventually he left the church, built a new one of his own, and took several of the members with him. The district superintendent, a friend of the pastor, dissolved the University Church and recognized the new one. The original church, somewhat perplexed, appealed to the General Superintendents for a decision on whether or not this was a valid decision. The Superintendents were reluctant to make such a decision but the issue became widely known and threatened to destroy denominational unity. Finally they made a ruling that a thriving church acting within denominational guidelines could not be dissolved (Smith, 1962:273-289). This did not entirely settle the matter but it does exemplify the way in which the leaders were pressured into taking on authority. This became particularly acute when it came to the denomination's finances.

In the early years of the church, boards were set up by the General Assembly to carry out the work of the church at the denominational level. The first board, formed in 1907, was the General Missionary Board. It was to guide foreign and home missions. In 1911, the General Board of Education, the General Board of Publication, the General Board of Church Extension, and a Rescue Commission were set up. Next, in 1915, the Rescue Commision became the General Board of Rescue Work and the General Orphanage Board was created. Then, in 1919, the General Colportage Board, the General Board of Mutual Benefit, and the General Board of Ministerial Relief were formed. This brought the total to nine boards, excluding the Board of General Superintendents (Purkiser, 1983: 34-35). By the early 1920s this

arrangement was recognized as dangerously faulty.

The problem was that there was no coordinating device in the system that helped establish joint budgets or harmonize activities. Consequently, the various boards found themselves in direct competition for funds and resources. Each board was responsible for raising its own money but they all appealed to the same constituency. The result was repeated financial crises that required major financial drives to be resolved (Smith, 1962:334-337). As early as 1919, attempts were made to form a correlated board that would oversee and organize the respective boards (Purkiser, 1983:35). The people in control of the individual boards, however, were unwilling to give up authority (Smith, 1962:335). By the next General Assembly matters changed considerably.

In 1923, just before the General Assembly, the church emerged from one financial crisis only to lapse into another. The General Superintendents used the situation to persuade the Assembly to unite the boards. They were partially successful (Smith, 1962:337-338). The general boards of Foreign Missions, Church Extension, Minsterial Relief, and Publication were made departments under one General Board with common budgets. Each board's actions also had to be approved by the general superintendents. The process was completed at the next General Assembly in 1928 when the General Colportage Board and the General Board of Mutual Benefit were dissolved and the General Board of Rescue Work was combined with the General Orphanage Board (the new board was given the task of closing all projects and disposing of properties). The last board became the Department of Education

and a new Department of Church Schools was established (Purkiser, 1983:35). In all, there were six departments under the new General Board which consisted of six ministers and six laymen. The newly unified board was chaired by the Board of General Superintendents (Smith, 1962:338). It was this streamlined arrangement that was to remain until the present. By 1933, though, only three of the departments had full-time secretaries; Publication starting in 1923, Church Schools in 1928, and World Missions in 1929 (Taylor, 1970:185). After twenty years the church had developed a working organization.

The important issue in this series of developments is the amount of centralization that took place. This was done at times and in ways that not all were pleased with. However, at the time it happened, and certainly since then, few would deny that such measures were needed. The fear that many had of an overly centralized structure appeared to keep the organizational process from going any farther than it needed to. Nonetheless, the changes were signifcant even if their impact was not felt until later. In retrospect, though, these changes were probably not the most powerful influences on the young denomination. Cultural and theological concerns seem to have had an even more dramatic impact.

"The Great Reversal"

Between 1910 and 1930 a major shift in outlook occurred in American Evagelicalism known as the Great Reversal. This phrase, originally used by Timothy Smith, was popularized by David Moberg in his book The Great Reversal: Evangelicalism and Social

Concern (1977). Moberg points out that in the early years of this century the Church of the Nazarene had been heavily involved in social welfare work and was decidedly pro-labor. By 1930, however, social welfare work had all but vanished and the church was very antagonistic toward labor (1977:30-31). Why? There are at least two major factors that come into play.

The first factor deals with the generational aspect of the denomination. In the early years of the church the focus of the denomination was to give a church home to the common people. What should be emphasized is that the church founders themselves were not poor. In the Los Angeles Nazarene First Church, for example, medical doctors and businessmen were counted among the original members (Jones, 1983:320). In Kansas City, when the first church formed around 1912, most of the members, while not wealthy, did have respectable middle class to lower middle class jobs (Jones, 1974b:405-406). The objective had been to take the gospel to the poor. To accomplish their objective, rescue missions, orphanages, homes for unwed mothers, and hospitals were established.* For several years these projects served as an integral part of evangelism. It has been assumed by many, both scholars and laymen, that they were relatively successful in their efforts. This assumption, however, is not entirely accurate.

The people the church reached were predominantly native born, rural Americans who had moved to the cities with middle-class aspirations (Anderson, 1979:151). Robert Anderson claims that the church was a failure with the immigrant poor (Anderson, 1979:151) and Charles Jones adds to this that there were no black congregations at any time before 1936 (Jones, 1974b:135). This is

not to say that rural immigrants were wealthy but the majority were definitely of a more respectable status than the latter groups just mentioned. They were also seeking higher social status. Consequently, as they achieved higher status, they tended to leave their less respectable associations behind. This phenomena was illustrated in 1902, when the Los Angeles Church of the Nazarene moved from its poorer surroundings to a middle-class neighborhood (Jones, 1974b:127). The churches served mainly as a socializing agent for the rural newcomers who found themselves in unfamiliar settings. That this happened so readily is not suprising since the Holiness Movement itself was mostly rural based. By the 1920s a great deal of upward social mobility had taken place. Having encountered this process, the socialization of children took on new meaning.*

By the 1920s parents had become concerned that their children would not adhere to the same values to which they held so strongly. The rapid change in cultural norms and the pluralization of society only heightened these fears. The response in the denomination was to create alternate activities for children and to set more stringent rules. This was intended to protect the new generation from the influences of the urban world while keeping them loyal to the church (Smith, 1962:294-295). With the rising concern over the second generation, the concern for the poor seemed to decline proportionally. Up until the 1919 General Assembly social ministries thrived. By 1928 a committee was established to dispose of these projects. By 1932 this had been completed with very few exceptions. Those that remained were run exclusively at the local and district level.

Other concerns took a much higher priority. Combined with the growing suspicion that poverty was a result of individual sin rather than a social problem, this brought an end to social action (Jones, 1974b:135). The conclusion was appparently that since those in the church had become prosperous through holiness living then those who were poor were so because they behaved immorally. Therefore, why waste effort on those who choose such a life? While never stated in precisely this way, an element of this kind of thinking did appear. This was a strong contrast to the understanding of only a few years earlier. Thus, transition to the second generation brought about a change in values. It was not the only factor involved, however.

A second issue involved in this reversal was more directly related to what was happening outside the denomination. During the 1910s, a movement known as Fundamentalism began to come to the forefront. An ever growing rift was developing in mainline denominations over theological issues. The fundamentalists sought to preserve the doctrine from which they saw their denominations drifting (Smith, 1962:293). They marked out what they saw as essential historic church doctrines and attempted to defend them. Some of the fundamentals were:

1. The verbal inerrancy of the Holy Bible in the original manuscripts.
2. The virgin birth of Christ as a biological fact.
3. The substitutionary attonement of Christ.
4. The physical resurrection of Christ, and the resurrection of Christian believers.
5. The bodily return of Christ at His second advent.

6. The literal acceptance of biblical miracles as actual events.

(Van Note, 1983:14).

In that the fundamentalists were struggling against the more liberal elements in the churches, many Nazarenes identified with them wholeheartedly. The same fears about the rapid change occurring in the culture tended to make the Nazarenes somewhat defensive. Consequently, the desire to conserve their cultural and theological heritage made the fundamentalists and the Nazarenes early friends.

Another reason for this close kinship was the growth of the church in the Midwest. After the formation of the denomination in 1908 there were twelve churches in Illinois, eleven in Oklahoma, four in Missouri, three in Indiana, two in Kansas, one in Kentucky and Michigan, and none in Iowa, Nebraska and Ohio (The Birth of a Church, 1983). This made a total forty-three churches. The average church size at this time was forty-five members, which would mean there were roughly 1,750 to 2,000 members in this region (Jones, 1974b:209). By 1920, over forty per cent of the total Nazarene membership (approximentally 15,000 people) and several score churches were located in the same region (Smith, 1962:235). The reason for this rapid growth was due in large part to the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy.

In much of the Midwest the falling out over holiness had bypassed the Methodist Church. After 1910, though, the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy hit with a fury. The Nazarenes capitalized on this by professing their conservative stand on scripture and emphasizing their strong stand on holiness.

As more Methodists became disgruntled they began to join the Nazarenes. The important difference between these people and the earlier holiness come-outers, however, was that they were leaving over fundamentalist issues and not holiness issues. Consequently, a large influx occurred of people more concerned with doctrine than with the practical implications of holiness (Smith, 1962:235-238).

The practical results of these events are important. After 1919 there is a noticeable shift among Nazarenes from a postmillenial eschatology to a premillenial one (Anderson, 1979:199). This appears to be a result of both a pessimistic view of society and a close association with the fundamentalists (fundamentalists were characteristically premillenial). While the Church of the Nazarene has never taken an official position on the issue, premillenialism continued from this time forward as the most prevelant position. The other major consequence coincides with that of the second generation issue, namely a loss of interest in social action and the promotion of holiness. Indeed, the church had been hit hard by these factors of generational transition and the fundamentalist controversy. But there were still more problems.

In the 1920s the Church of the Nazarene found itself rapidly being cut off from other communions. The long-standing tension with the more liberal elements continued on as usual. What was new was the division from what had once been allies. Though Nazarenes and fundamentalists had friendly relations early on, problems developed shortly after 1920. The fundamentalists, who were found predominately in Baptist and Presbyterian fellowships,

began trying to identify conservative Christianity with orthodox Calvinism. This was something that Nazarenes could not abide (Smith, 1962:319-321). There were two theological differences that would not allow them to accept this.

One was a disagreement over verbal inerrancy. Aaron M. Hills statement on this issue, in his popular work on theology, illustrates why. He claimed that the Bible is infallible with regard to the purposes for which it was written, but he qualifies this by the following:

> This of course does not imply that the sacred writers were infallible except for the special purpose for which they were employed. They were not imbued with plenary knowledge. As to all matters of science, philosophy, and history they stood on the same level with their contemporaries. They were infallible only as teachers, and when acting as the spokesmen of God. (Hills, 1932:76)

This position is substantially different from the fundamentalist understanding in that the latter demands a much more rigid adherence to inerrancy. Even so, many Nazarenes accepted the fundamentalist defintion, despite strong efforts by some of the leadership to discourage it (Bassett, 1978:85). Officially the doctrine never changed even though many had adopted it.

The second departure was at the point of holiness. While Nazarenes had no problem with substitutionary attonement, they held that this was not enough. The doctrine of holiness taught that God also frees people from sin in a dynamic relationship and enables them to pursue a life of holiness. This was contrary to Calvinist theology. It also had implications for how scripture

was understood. The fundamentalists found themselves trying to defend the authority of the Bible based on the authority of the Bible. From the Wesleyan viewpoint "both experientially and methodologically, one comes from faith in Christ to belief in the authority of scripture and not vice versa" (Bassett, 1978:84). From the Wesleyan standpoint the fundamentalists had missed the experiential aspect.

The result of these disagreements was that by 1933 the Nazarenes found themselves cut off from the liberal elements in the churches on one side and the fundamentalists on the other. Special doctrinal statements were added in 1928 to emphasize their distinctiveness from these groups (Smith, 1962:135). To further complicate matters a new movement called Pentecostalism was on the rise. This movement, which grew out of the Holiness Movement, claimed that beyond the second work of sanctification was a third experience which usually involved divine signs like speaking in tongues (Synan, 1971:95-116). The Nazarenes were strongly opposed to this teaching, considering it fanatical and Biblically inaccurate. So strongly did they object to the teaching that in 1919 they removed the word Pentecostal from their title to avoid being confused with the movement (Smith, 1962:319-320). Thus, there was yet a third grouping that was to be shunned. Though not entirely by choice, the group that only a quarter of a century earlier had so highly prized ecumenicism, was now drawing lines between itself and other groups. While not desirable, it was deemed necessary if the doctrine and values of the Church of the Nazarene were to be passed on (Smith, 1962:321).

In spite of the increasing isolation the Nazarenes were

experiencing, there were two positive developments during the first twenty-five years. The membership of the church grew from 10,414 in 1908, to 109,984 in 1933; a 956 per cent increase.* For the same period, the number of churches went from 228 to 1,974; a 765 per cent increase. Particularly interesting are the statistics on the average number of members per church. In 1908, the number was forty-five but by 1917 this figure had dropped to thirty-five. This average gradually increased until 1923, when it leveled out at thirty-nine to forty for four years. Then in 1926, the number rose to forty-one and began an upward trend, hitting fifty-six per congregation in 1933. This trend continued until 1940 when it peaked out at sixty-three (see Appendix H). One conclusion that may be derived is that it represents the rise of more stable and better equipped churches. With more people in a congregation there is more money to pay a good salary for a pastor and more people-power to carry on a variety of programs. The sustained rapid growth of auxiliary organizations like the Nazarene Women's Missionary Society (founded 1915) and Nazarene Young People's Society (founded 1923) support this claim (Taylor, 1970:216-218). The average weekly Sunday School attendance records for the denomination, beginning in 1929, also indicate increased involvement in church progams. In 1929 the average attendance was 83,069 but by 1933 it was 137,978. This was a growth rate half again as fast as the membership for the same period. It also means that in any given week in 1933 there twenty-five per cent more people in Sunday School than there were members in a given congregation. Indeed the church was expanding at a tremendous rate.

The 1908-1933 era was characterized by a growth in numbers and an increase in denominational organization. Despite the increased polarization in American Protestantism (or possibly because of it) the Nazarenes were able to attract a large following quickly. Hard times, however, were on the horizon. The next several years proved to be a period of radical change and upheaval for the nation and the denomination alike.

## 1934-1958

The rapid numerical growth that had characterized the church's first quarter century continued on through the second. The development of the organizational structure, however, was quite different. In the first twenty-five years there was a great deal of struggle to establish a working system. By 1928 this process had been virtually completed. The next three decades were merely an expansion of this system. This was particularly true of the 1940s. The period was also a critical time in terms of maintaining values. A great amount of social and cultural change occurred during these years and the Nazarenes were definitely effected by it. Overall, the era ended on an optimistic note, even if the beginning had not been bright.

### Depression and War

The arrival of the Depression in the 1930's posed some major problems for the Church of the Nazarene. The amount of money paid for all purposes in 1930 had been $3,408,827 but by 1933 this amount had dwindled to $2,313,758. The 1932 General Assembly, operating on the assumption that the economic problems were

temporary, drafted a budget well above what could be raised. Only two thirds of what was needed came in. This forced deep cuts in every part of the church. The most difficult blow came in March of 1933 when the bank in which the church had its working funds went bankrupt. In about a week after the closing five percent of the funds opened up, but it was hardly enough. Fortunately, General Superintendent Roy T. Williams saw what was coming and had Bud Lunn, the Publishing House manager, withdraw a large amount of money the day before the banks closed. This gave both headquarters and the Publishing House something to work with but there was yet another problem. Checks amoounting to $22,000 had been mailed to foreign mission stations and there was no money to cover them. Special measures were taken to solve this difficulty. In 1932, a "Reserve Army" of 10,000 members was organized which, upon request (not more than five times a year), would send one dollar to headquarters. This resource was tapped and a special Easter offering was held to raise more money. Between the two, enough money was raised to resolve the crisis. Still, the people worst hit by the events of 1933 were the missionaries. When the government went off the gold standard in July, United States currency overseas lost value quickly. Money had to be borrowed from other branches of the church just to keep some works afloat. By the end of 1933, the general church had balanced the budget, but the foreign missions were much slower in recovering (Purkiser, 1983:86-89).

The church was no sooner getting back on its feet when the country entered World War II. There were at least two worries brought on by the War. Finances was not one of them. In fact,

with the boom economy the War created, all of the denominational colleges managed to pay off their debts (Purkiser, 1983:149). One worry involved decline in the morale and vitality of the members. The leaders of the church were afraid that mambers would began to feel helpless and would withdraw from church participation and evangelism. A decline in average weekly Sunday School attendance between 1941-1943 verified this fear. Wartime restrictions on travel and communication intensified the problem since it made mutual reassurance more difficult. Consequently, a call was given by the leadership to remind people of what the mission of the church was and to encourage them not to let the War dominate their lives (Purkiser, 1983:137-138). The second fear was for the safety of missionaries overseas. Especially troublesome were the areas of Japan and China. Several missionaries in these areas were interned during the War. Other areas were left to their own resources since travel in either direction was nearly impossible (Purkiser, 1983:140-144). The period was full of anxious moments but the denomination appeared to emerge from the situation in good shape. In fact, far from declining, the church swelled to new dimensions.

Organizational Expansion

The 1930s brought some of the fastest growth in membership ever. Between 1930 and 1940, the number grew from 82,038 to 165,749. This was a doubling in the course of a decade. The average church membership went from forty-five to sixty-three and average weekly Sunday School attendance hovered at about twenty percent higher than the membership, for most of the decade. What

makes this growth interesting is that many other churches, evangelical and liberal alike, suffered losses during that decade. The liberals seemed to be shaken by the collapse of "Human Progress" in which much of their theology rested and the evagelicals were still reeling from the Fundametalist/Modernist controversy (Woodbridge, Noll, and Hatch, 1979:80-81). It appears that the Nazarenes, who by the time of the Depression had been removed from the controversy and had become more sharply defined than ever, actually thrived during the unrest. Although it is difficult to be certain it may be that the new denomination, which maintained a high degree of stability and a clear theological statement, attracted those who were weary of the uncertainty of the times. Whatever the case, the church grew and with growth came the need for organizational expansion to accommodate it.

In 1928, the General Assembly increased the number of general superintendents to four. However, in 1932 Hiram F. Reynolds retired and the 1932 Assembly decided to leave the number at three (Taylor, 1970:184). As the church grew it became apparent that three was not sufficient so a fourth was again elected in 1936 (Purkiser, 1983:111-112). As the church grew even larger, the same problem occurred and the number was set at five in 1948 (Purkiser, 1983:222). In both cases the multiplying number of districts and mission fields became too sizeable a load for the existing number of superintendents to administrate effectively.

Another change that occurred with the General Superintendents was that they began to function as a board. Although they had been called the Board of General Superintendents from the start, they had never really functioned as such. By the 1940s the size

of the General Assembly became so large that a marked tendency developed to give more responsibility and authority to the Board. At the same time, public disagreements between Superintendents were becoming troublesome. At one point a Superintendent actively promoted the building of a seminary without consulting the others. In another case, in the early 1940s, a problem developed when one of the Superintendents resolved an issue with his son that should have required official action. The misunderstanding over the action resulted in the Superintendent not being reelected in 1944. Though reinstated four years later, the ordeal did cause hard feelings that took a while to ameliorate. Therefore, the Superintendents decided one by one that more regular meetings were needed and that the Board should speak with one voice. By the early 1950s this had been accomplished (Purkiser, 1983:168-171).

The responsiblities for the general church officers and the Publishing House also increased during this time. In 1944, the Secretary for the Department of Home Missions and Church Extension became a fulltime job. Twelve years later, in 1956, two more departments, Ministerial Benevolence and the new one for Evangelism, required full-time management. This made a total of six full-time department heads. With such growth the facilities eventually became too small. The Publishing House and the Headquarters, both based in Kansas City, Missouri since 1912, had been sharing the same building. In 1944 a building down the street opened up and the Headquarters moved while the Publishing House bought up still more facilities adjacent to the property (Purkiser, 1983:173-175). The Headquarters new location soon proved inadequate and in the mid-1950s it was moved to a new

building the church had constructed a few miles away (Purkiser, 1983:241-243).

Another area of expansion was in the educational branch of the church. The Depression had been hard on the six colleges the church operated in the United States but by the end of the 1930s recovery was well on the way. Only Treveca Nazarene College in Nashville, Tennessee suffered bankruptcy and had to expend considerable effort to stay open (Purkiser, 1983:101-104). With only 697 students enrolled in the six schools for the 1932-1933 school year, the enrollment continued to climb until by the 1939-1940 session there were 2,658 (Purkiser, 1983:102,123).* Enrollment dropped to 2,019 in 1940-1941 and rose only slightly to 2,156 in 1943-1944. Many of the men had gone to war but because of increasing prosperity more women were able to enroll, thereby stabilizing the number of students (Purkiser, 1983:148). After the war the number of students, many returning veterans, reached 3,841 in 1947-48 and by 1958 totaled 4,397 (Purkiser, 1983:203,294). Along with the growth in numbers came growth in the quality of the schools. Northwest Nazarene became the first fully accredited school in the denomination in 1937. Over the next several years Eastern Nazarene (1943), Pasadena (1945), Bethany (1956), and Olivet Nazarene (1956) followed suit. This meant that by 1958 five of the six American colleges had been accredited (Taylor, 1970:156). College education was a priority item in the denomination.

In addition to these expansions three other institutions were added. Hurlett College was begun in 1945 near Glasgow, Scotland. For the first few years enrollment was very low. However, after

combining with Calvary Holiness Church's Beech Lawn College in 1955 the school managed to do quite well (Purkiser, 1983:203-204). In 1947, Spanish Nazarene Bible and Missionary Training Institute was begun in San Antonio, Texas. The school's focus was on training people to work in spanish speaking contexts (Purkiser, 1983:213-214). Last, and most importantly was the establishment of Nazarene Theological Seminary in 1945. The school was established primarily because there was a desire for better trained pastors and leaders. In the first year of operation there were sixty students meeting in the building owned jointly by the Headquarters and the Publishing House (Purkiser, 1983:204-211). As noted above these facilities became too small for the Headquarters and when the Headquarters moved, the seminary went with it, relocating on adjacent property (Purkiser, 1983:241-243). By 1958 enrollment increased to 170 and the seminary was on its way to becoming one of the most respected seminaries in holiness circles (Purkiser, 1983:294).

A third manner in which the church expanded was in its foreign missions. The 1930s and early 1940s were a difficult time for missionary work. In 1930, 9.2 per cent of the church's membership lived outside the United States. By 1940 the actual number doubled but so did the United States total. World War II was definitely a major disturbance in this work. William Purkiser claims that much of the mission work that began after 1945 was due to the efforts of Nazarene chaplains and servicemen (1983:175). Also, the stabilization of the world situation permitted the General Superintendents to carry out their responsiblities of visiting all the mission areas once a quadrennium. This policy

was established in 1928 and had been virtually impossible to implement, but after 1945 this became the standard practice (Purkiser, 1983:171). These two factors, no doubt, contibuted to the near doubling of the non-United States membership in spite of four years of war during the decade. In 1950 the membership outside the United States grew to 12.1 percent and in 1960 to 17.3 percent. Not only did membership grow but from 1945 to 1958 new mission works were begun in sixteen different new countries. This was more than in the previous thirty-seven years combined (Taylor, 1970:212-214), and overseas was not the only place where missions grew.

In the United States, two new ethnic works were opened. In the late 1930s and early 1940s a few black congregations had come into existence. At the 1944 General Assembly it was decided that a new plan was needed for evangelism among these people. The emergence of these few congregations evidently awakened the leadership to a blind spot (Purkiser, 1983:197). General Superintendent Howard Miller illustrated this awakening by stating that, "It is not to our credit that a church with our professed soul passion should have so long neglected the evangelization of the fourteen millions of colored people in the United States" (General Assembly Journal, 1948:158). In 1947, a yearly conference was set up for district superintendents with black churches on their districts and the pastors of these churches. In 1953 a new district was established for blacks so that more direct assistance could be given. Progress was slow but by 1958 there were twelve organized churches (Purkiser, 1983:197-200).

Another area that was entered was work with North American

Indians. Several attempts had been made to establish this work in the past but in 1944 a special district was organized. It had eleven churches in states across the Southwest. In 1948 the C. Warren Jones Indian Training and Bible School was started near Albuquerque, New Mexico to provide more intensive training for those who desired it. By 1958 the district had forty-four churches with 1,053 members and was rapidly pushing ahead with new work (Purkiser, 1983:200-201).

One last manner in which the church expanded was through two accessions. The first came when the Calvary Holiness Church in Great Britain decided to join. Financial problems, among other issues, moved the church toward the idea of uniting with the Nazarenes. In 1955 they brought twenty-two congregations and 600 members into the church. Also added was Beech Lawn Bible College which was combined with Hurlett College, the new Nazarene school (Jones, 1974a:103-104). The Gospel Workers Church was the other body to join. This Canadian group, whose leadership was aging and had members joining other holiness churches, opted to unite with the Church of the Nazarene in 1958. The group brought in five churches and 162 members altogether (Jones, 1974a:276).

## New Leadership and Old Values

Without a doubt, the numerical and organizational growth of the church in its second twenty-five years is an intrigueing development. But what becomes even more interesting (and more difficult to evaluate) is the impact the change had on the values of those in the denomination. This becomes especially important when one recognizes that it was during this time that there was

almost a complete turnover in leadership.

By 1958, only ten percent of the members in the church had been members in 1933 (Purkiser, 1983:9). The church size had increased more than one and a half times in the second twenty-five years. Consequently, there were an increasing number of new Nazarenes who were unfamiliar with the early struggles of the Holiness Movement. This growth also meant greater organizational development to handle the burgeoning number of members, which in turn meant the creation of new leadership positions. Over half the district superintendents in 1940 were new ones (Purkiser, 1983:123). This was partially due to the above reasons and partially to the fact that a transition between generations was underway. The latter is well evidenced in the changes at the denominational level.

In the 1930s two influential men in the church passed away. Aaron Hills (1848-1935), who had been one of the most respected Nazarene theologians, died just four years after completing a major work on theology. In 1938, Hiram Reynolds (1854-1938), who had been instrumental in the 1907 merger and had served as General Superintendent from 1907-1932, also died. His influence in the church was rivalled by few. This was only the beginning. In 1939 General Superintendent Joesph Morrison (1871-1939), the former leader of the Layman's Holiness Association, died. His death was followed by the demise of four more General Superintendents in the next decade: Roy Williams (1883-1946), James Chapman (1884-1947), Howard Miller (1894-1948), and Orval Nease (1891-1950). Of special importance were the first two. Williams had been the strongest Superintendent in his thirty-one year tenure from 1915-

1946 and Chapman, who was influential in the Southern merger, was also a strong leader.

Two other leaders left the scene in the 1940s, followed by two more in the 1950s. C. W. Ruth (1865-1941), who had been a close friend of Bresees and Ruben "Bud" Robinson (1860-1942), better known as Uncle Bud -- a much admired cowboy preacher from Texas -- died within months of each other. About ten years later Susan Fitkin (1870-1951) and Edgar Ellyson (1869-1954) died. The former had joined with the Eastern branch and led the Women's Foreign Missionary Society from 1915-1948, while the latter, from the South, had served the church in a variety of capacities including General Superintendent.

This list of notable passings illustrates well the transition that occurred during the middle of the second twenty-five years. In 1950 the most experienced General Superintendent had served for only six years, and by 1958 virtually all the original leaders were gone. By the third quarter century, those who had experienced the trials that led to the church's formation had gone on.

The effects this had are difficult to measure. The most significant clues can be found in three areas. The first is the Mid-Century Crusade for Souls. The Crusade was a massive evangelistic campaign started in the 1948-1952 quadrennium and continued for eight years. In the years preceeding the 1948 General Assembly there had been a steady drop in the rate of growth of members. That some of the leaders had become disturbed by this was evident. It was feared that the new generation of Nazarenes were losing the vision of the past. At the 1948 General

Assembly, General Superintendent Miller said,

> No task confronts us requiring more painstaking effort than the passing on to another generation the same ideal and vision full of passion that moved our fathers .... No one can say the inheritance which is ours is cheap. Its coinage is in the blood, vision, sacrifice of men like Bresee, Reynolds, Williams and Chapman. God forbid that the vitality of the past should spend itself solely because we of another generation fail to perpetuate it (General Assembly Journal, 1948:162).

Thus, something was needed to re-instill the values of the past. The Crusade, which was basically an organized plan of visitation and personal evangelism, was thought to be the answer (Purkiser, 1983:218).

Although this effort did not result in a higher growth rate, it did stabilize the present rate. In terms of churches, though, at least 100 a year were added over the previous year for the period 1949-1955 (except 1952). This turned out to be the highest yearly growth ever. Sunday School attendance was another area of growth. By 1955 the average weekly Sunday School attendance was forty percent higher than the membership of the church. The fact that the missionary program grew rapidly during this period is also a reflection of these efforts. The important issue, though, is that the fear of losing fervency in a new generation sparked enough concern that a major program was instituted to insure its transmission. The leadership was very much aware that the new Nazarenes could potentially lose or shift focus once they were cut off from the leaders of the past.

A second clue is found in the discussions on special rules. In 1922 a special rule was written that all but prohibited intercollegiate activities at Nazarene Colleges. By the 1940 Assembly this sentiment had changed for many people and, while they were not successful in eliminating the rule, it was reworded in such a way as to allow for such activity. Later, in 1964, the issue was dealt with by giving the General Board the authority to establish guidelines for competition (Purkiser, 1983:128-130). This type of liberalizing shift likely reflects a change in the surrounding culture and a distancing from the original reasons for the rule. These kind of revisions tended to become more prevelant after World War II. The most significant debate over special rules occurred in 1952.

At the 1952 General Assembly a tension that had been building for some time found its way to the surface. The problem was legalism. Before his death in 1946 Superintendent Williams had perceived a drift toward legalistic interpretations and at one point remarked that if the church ever split it would be over legalism. Six years later his prediction came true. A group of delegates presented some proposed rules that would ban television. After much debate the proposals were voted down in favor of another rule that merely warned against the possible dangers of the new media. Then, in the months following the Assembly, articles were written and statements were issued seeking a middle road on behavioral standards. While this seemed wise to most, there were a few who thought the church was forsaking its values (Purkiser, 1983:266-274). In 1955 Nazarene District Superintendent Glenn Griffith left the church, taking several

laymen and ministers with him, and founded what became the Bible Missionary Church. The major reason was "worldliness" in the Church of the Nazarene (Jones, 1974a:472-473). Another faction that split off the same reason was located in Pennsylvania. W. L. King started a paper in 1951 that decried the institutionalization and growing worldliness among Nazarenes. The editors of the paper, the "Voice of the Nazarene", became independent after the 1956 General Assembly when another futile attempt was made to ban television. Individual congregations joined this movement and the group became identified as the Voice of the Nazarene Association of Churches Incorporated (Jones, 1974a:477).

Neither of these groups took consequential amounts of people with them, (Griffiths group took a few hundred at the most) but their actions did have some symbolic significance. As William Purkiser has observed it is interesting that it was not until after the death of four General Superintendents in the four year period from 1946-1950 that such troubles erupted. The leadership in 1952 was completely new where only six years earlier two Superintendents had had forty-nine years of experinece between them (Williams 1915-1946 and Chapman 1928-1947). In 1952 Hardy Powers was the most experienced with eight years behind him and the average for the five was five years. The earlier Superintendents had a history that proved their loyalty. The new leaders had yet to prove themselves and some were not willing to give them time to do so (Purkiser, 1983:272). That tension existed before the new leaders arrived is doubtless but the shift from old to new did bring about suspicion and resignation on the part of some. Thus, the transition to the second generation of

leadership was a period where the new Superintendents with less charismatical authority could not command the loyalty that their predeccesors had had.

A third and last clue is a little less obvious. As has been alluded to, a great flurry of activity occurred in the late 1940s and 1950s. New educational institutions were built, ethnic work was begun, and the denomination even entered the area of radio evangelism (Purkiser, 1983:158). In much the same way that the Nazarenes of the 1920s tightened the rules to demonstrate their continued commitment, the Nazarenes of the 1940s were in part saying the same thing by starting new progams and broadening their focus. The reasoning might be stated that if we are involved in more and doing more, we must be committed. While not verbalized as such, it appears that this might have been one underlying motivation. Consequently, the transition to a new generation led to more programming.

In concluding the discussion of the second quarter century, the words that best summarize the period are growth and transition. The two combined made the late 1940s and early 1950s one of the most crucial times ever in the life of the church. Overall, the church emerged stronger than ever and kept its theology intact. By the late 1950s the denomination had entered a stage of stability. In comparison with the crises of depression, war, and generational transition, denominational life became relatively calm. The second quarter century was certainly the most turbulent of the three.

1959-1983

The last quarter century may prove to be the most crucial period for the denomination in its first one hundred years. Several indicators suggest that some serious changes are underway in the character of the church. Some are quite intentional and others are very unpurposed. The former deal mainly with organizational structure while the latter are reflective of value changes. Despite the fact that it is difficult to assess the impact these changes will make, some general observations can be made that will contribute meaningfully to the present discussion.

Reorganization

One of the major problems faced by the Church of the Nazarene in the last twenty-five years has been that of making the church an international organization. The growth of the church outside of North America began to make such measures a necessity. In 1960 slightly more than one in six Nazarenes (17.3 %) lived outside the United States but by 1980, easily one in four (29.2 %) did so. With present growth rates the ratio could be one in three by the 1985 General Assembly. Up until this period the church had been conceptually divided into "the church" (specifically the churches in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada) and "foreign missions" (everywhere else). The result, as seen by those in positions of leadership, was an unacceptable double standard. If all people were "brothers and sisters in Christ" then this was as true at the international level it was at the local (Johnson, 1982:19). Consequently, reorganization was deemed necessary.

The process began as early as 1964. At the General Assembly

that year an eight year study was begun that analyzed the problem and, in 1972, an interim system was adopted. The world outside the United States and Canada was divided into three Intercontinental Zones: Europe and Africa, the Orient and South Pacific, and Central and South America. This arrangement served for eight years until the final restructuring was completed in 1980 (Purkiser, 1983:307-308). In that year the entire world was divided into fifteen world regions, eight of which are in the United States (Johnson, 1982:61-62). Each of these regions was in turn subdivided into districts. Districts pass through four stages of development before becoming a Regular District. How a district is classified depends on the number of members and financial self-support the area has. Most Regular Districts start as Pioneer Areas and then move progressively on to the status of Pioneer District, National-Mission District, Mission District, and finally Regular District (Johnson, 1982:31-38). Once a district has fully developed, it may separate out a few churches from itself and begin a new Pioneer District (Johnson, 1982:44). This process enables the church to expand geographically without necessarily having to start a new mission field each time. The most important aspect of the new operation, though, is that all Regions are put on an equal basis. General Assembly delegates are apportioned to each Region on the basis of church membership. In 1980, 29.1 percent of the Assembly delegates attending were from outside the United States and Canada (Johnson, 1982:53-54). Thus, by 1983 the church had virtually completed the internationalization process.

The effects these adjustments will have on the denomination

can not be appraised with any certainty. It appears that the move at present is seen mostly in a positive light in that it emphasizes the holiness tradition of breaking down barriers through perfect love.* The latent effects, nonetheless, could be potentially divisive. One possiblity is that the inclusion of people from highly diverse backgrounds could spark a number of conflicts over anything from polity to special rules. Also, when one considers that the North Americans will be more accustomed than the new Nazarenes to an established tradition, a possiblity is opened for a conservative/progressive conflict. Yet, there is an equally strong possibility that the denomination could be greatly strengthened and invigorated by the cross-fertilization. The fervor and vitality of non-North Americans could animate the North Americans, who may provide the framework for channelling these new energies. Perhaps by the end of the 1990s a meaningful analysis can be done that will answer such questions.

Another change that is to recent to evaluate is the revision of the departmental structure. In 1968 an eighth department, the Department of Youth, was added to the church with a full-time secretary. This was the last one added before 1976 when a reordering took place. In that year the General Assembly created eight departments and one division, many of the departments retaining the same basic identity as before. Others were the result of shifting responsibilities between departments (Redford, 1974:101). The Division of Christian Life, with its departments of Children's ministries, Youth Ministries, and Adult Ministries, is of particular significance as will be seen shortly. This set up lasted until the next General Asembly when a further alteration

was made. In 1980 the Assembly gave the General Board the authority to study the church structure and to arrange the departments in an efficient manner (Manual, 1980:166). The new design will be subject to the approval of the 1985 General Assembly. At present the approach has been to create five divisions with the various departments distributed among them. The Division of Christian Life, with its three departments, exemplifies this. As a result, a new level was created between the General Board and the departments that in a sense expands the hierarchy of the general church.

Other changes that took place at the denominational level were primarily enlargements of existing structures. In 1960 a sixth general superintendent was added to bring the number up to its present size (Taylor, 1970:184). Also, the Department of Youth was started in 1968. The most significant development, though, was the establishment of educational institutions.

In 1967 and 1968 the church opened three more schools in the United States. Mid-America and Mount Vernon colleges started in the Fall semester of 1968 and by 1974 had become fully accredited four year liberal arts colleges. In 1967 Nazarene Bible College was opened as a three year school to give individuals the education needed to become ordained (Redford, 1974:105). By 1979 the enrollment at Nazarene schools in the United States, Canada, and the British Isles stood at 11,763 (Redford, 1974:107).

Outside of North America there has likewise been an increase in educational institutions. By 1980 there were eleven Bible schools, theological schools, or seminaries in various places all over the world. These places included India, Japan, Korea, the

Philippines, Australia, South Africa, Switzerland, Trinidad, Taiwan, and Costa Rica (Redford, 1974:106-107). The denomination has clearly made education a high priority.

Maury Redford makes some interesting observations concerning this educational focus. First he notes that eighty-two percent of the leadership in the church graduated from Nazarene institutions (these leaders would include general and district superintendents, seminary and college presidents, and executives and General Board members). Second, he claims that seventy percent of the missionaries are alumni of Nazarene schools. Both of these observations are revealing in that such a high percentage have a higher education. The third and possibly most important observation is that according to a national education survey Nazarenes are second among denominations in the percentage of funds given by the church for educational operating funds (Redford, 1974:107-108). These three factors combined show a strong commitment to denominational education. The implications of this commitment are reviewed in the next section.

Theology and Values: Approaching a Turning Point?

As important as the organizational changes in the church have been they appear to be only reflections of something deeper. A subtle shift in values seems to have occurred over the past two to three decades. Exactly why or what new values might be emerging is difficult to say. Nevertheless, there are some strong indications that something is happening.

One of the most important factors is the growth in the size of congregations. From 1938 to 1958 the mean congregation size

grew from about sixty-one to about sixty-seven. After 1958 this number began to soar. By 1968 the mean was seventy-eight, by 1978 it was ninety-eight, and by 1983 a high of one hundred and three was reached (see appendix H). This was a growth of more than fifty percent in a short twenty-five years. The immediate reason for this is clear.

In comparing the growth in membership and the growth in number of churches, an obvious change occurred. The membership continued to increase at a relatively steady rate through the period but the growth in churches slowed drasticaly. From 1948 to 1958, a net total of 1,029 new churches were added compared to 374 between 1958 and 1968 and forty-five from 1968 to 1978. In fact, the number of churches actually declined in 1969, 1970, 1976, and 1978. In the last five years this trend has reversed moderately in that 110 churches were added. Overall, though, a trend has developed where members are being added to existing churches rather than new churches being organized to recruit new members. The consequences could be powerful.

Leonard Pinto and Kenneth Crow have demonstrated that congregation size has an impact on the functioning and values of a congregation (1982). Some of the observations they made about the Church of the Nazarene were that smaller churches had more rigorous membership criteria and a higher proportion of conversions to the number of members, while larger churches were more inclined to contribute to denominational activities (1982:311). A logical assumption might be that as congregations grow larger membership is not as demanding and consequently commitment is not as high. The authors suggest that the point

where the church reaches a critical mass and these changes begin is at about seventy-five members. Thus, if a large number of churches begin crossing this threshold one might expect to see less committed members denomination wide.

Assuming the above theory is accurate, the implications are highly significant for the Church of the Nazarene. According to 1982 records for the United States and Canada, about forty-five percent of the churches had more than seventy-five members. More importantly, seventy-eight percent of the total membership belonged to these larger churches. This means that nearly four out of five are in larger, allegedly less committed churches. One third of the members are in churches of 225 or more. In terms of setting policy this becomes particularly significant.*

Since delegates to the General Assembly are elected by district delegates who (primarily) are elected proportionally by membership of congregations, the larger churches will have greater say in policy-making decisions. This does not necessarily mean that larger churches would be conspiring against smaller ones, but it would mean the representatives at district and general assemblies will be increasingly unfamiliar with small church problems. It may result in decisions that are damaging to small churches but beneficial to larger churches. In one instance there is evidence that this may already have happened.

As stated earlier, the Division of Christian Life was begun in 1976 with the three departments of Children's, Youth, and Adult Ministries. At the local level, each congregation was also to set up a Christian Life Board with a director and three other heads for each of the age groupings. These last three were to be

responsible for the entire programming for their age group at the local level (Manual, 1976:83-90). This had a serious effect on Sunday School attendance. Before the reorganization, each church had had a Sunday School Superintendent who was responsible only for the promotion of Sunday School. After the alteration, three people were made responsible in part for the programs, along with other duties. Their overseer also had Sunday School as only a partial obligation. The problem came in that larger churches had enough people to successfully fill such positions, but the small churches apparently found it difficult to find one person, much less three people, to adequately handle such tasks. The result was a dramatic decrease in average weekly Sunday School attendance.*

To put this in perspective, one must review the previous Sunday School records. After the rapid growth of the 1940s and early 1950s the weekly attendance slowed in growth during the late 1950s and 1960s. After 1970, Sunday School attendance began to grow faster than the number of members. At no point between 1929, when records were first kept, and 1976 did the average weekly Sunday School attendance total less than the church membership. After 1976, the attendance record dropped at a rate of several thousand a year for three years, falling below the membership totals for the first time in 1978 (see appendix F). In 1976 Sunday School attendance was equal to 109 percent of the membership, but by 1983 it equalled only 87 percent.

While other factors effected this decline there is evidence that in the effort to create a more efficient system certain elements were overlooked. The importance of the Sunday School

Superintendent was the primary oversight in the smaller churches. To exactly what extent the change negatively affected the small church and helped the large church (if at all) is uncertain. The new arrangement does reflect the corporate organizational model that one would expect to find in larger churches. While unintentional, this type of phenomena is likely to become more prevalant as the proportion of leaders from large churches grows in what was once a small church denomination.

The example of Sunday School attendance illustrates the problems of increased church size. Given the accuracy of the Pinto and Crow study, one would expect to see less commitment to past values and norms as congregational growth takes place across the denomination. The question that still remains is why has this trend of fewer new congregations and more large churches developed? The answer is complicated and as yet unclear. Two suggestions are offered here.

The first suggestion deals with socioeconomic factors. William Purkiser points out that Nazarenes have become more and more affluent in recent years (1983:309). With affluence comes stability and resectability. Priorities can shift from satisfying needs to maintaining respectability. Consequently, the church that was once seen by its lower middle class, rural, migrant members as a major source of identity becomes only one source among many. With higher status comes the need to maintain status and therefore individuals may become less inclined to engage in activities that threaten their standing. Some of the activities of the early Nazarenes might be considered too risky to social standing (e.g., living in the inner-city or having a "plain"

church that anyone could come to).

Education is another part of the socioeconomic variable that is important. The leadership in the church is quite well educated and education has a high priority in the denomination. A consequence of this emphasis would likely be that childeren will be increasingly socialized into middle class values since this is generally what educational institutions promote. Thus, not only is economic standing increasing but values learned through education solidify the new value system.

A second major aspect is generational in nature. The Nazarenes who are moving into positions of leadership at this time are people who have had little or no aquaintance with the founders of the denomination. As each year passes the values and concerns of the first generation become more vague. Just as the 1940s signified the end of the first generation of leadership, the late 1960s spelled the end for the second. A sixth general superintendent was added in 1960 and there was a complete turnover in the other five from 1964 to 1972. Since these officials must now retire at the Assembly following their sixty-eighth birthday the fourth generation will have arrived by the end of the 1980s. This means that the leadership's only familiarity with the original nature of the church will come through relationships they have had with grandparents and great grandparents. These new leaders, who have little direct aquaintence with the beginnings of the church, will themselves be shaping the perception of the church for the fourth, fifth, and maybe sixth generations.

Further compounding this problem is the fact that with the church's sustained high growth rate, there are many Nazarenes who

have little knowledge of historical issues. Those who have become Nazarenes from other backgrounds will not have a feel for the history of the denomination and are likely to create confusion over norms and values as they seek to express themselves. Thus, not only are later generations suffering from historical distance, but a growing percentage of Nazarenes have no knowledge of these roots at all. The result is likely to be decreased commitment combined with norm and value confusion.

In practical terms this means that undertaking the task of establishing a new church becomes less likely. It is more work than most church members are willing to contribute. The church becomes more of a valued service than something demanding this kind of strong allegiance. Members are likely to invite their middle class friends to their own church (thereby gaining the prestige of belonging to a large popular church) but the idea of starting new ones may seem pointless. The vision of reaching the poor or promoting a distinctive holiness doctrine may seem archaic. Thus, the importance of starting churches loses much of its significance. It may even be concluded that other denominations are already doing this kind of work. What was once revivalistic fervor becomes ritualistic behavior.

With reference to congregation size this becomes important since many new members (and maybe older ones as well) will see their involvement with the church as an organization that satisfies a need but to which little time, effort, or money needs to be contributed. It is much easier to live this way in a larger congregation where active involvement by each member is not so crucial to the functioning of the church. Consequently, not only

will some members view the role of the church in their lives in such a way that they prefer the larger church, but they may even feel uncomfortable with the smaller ones, so that when the district superintendent tries to establish a new church he may find little or no support on the part of his constituents. The waning level of commitment by members and the ever-increasing confusion over the church's mission cannot help but slow the denomination's growth.

Whether or not these suggestions are accurate cannot yet be verified. Only the passage of time will tell. From evidence that exists now they are definitely plausible. That there is less commitment and more confusion over values, however, is far more certain. The following examples illustrate this.

In 1967 a former Foreign Missions Secretary named Remiss Rehfeldt left the church with about one hundred members to begin the Church of the Bible Covenant. The main reasons were that the Nazarenes were lowering standards and forsaking their past (Jones, 1974a:474-475). In other words there was less commitment to the church and a change in values. These circumstances sound almost like echoes from late Nineteenth Century Methodism.

Another telling factor is inter-church relations. In the past twenty years the church has begun to join organizations it had previously avoided. In the late 1960s the church joined the National Holiness Association (presently the Christian Holiness Association). Early on the Church of the Nazarene would not join this group because the organization was opposed to an organized holiness approach. Over the years the tension lessened. Then, in the spring of 1984 the general church voted to join the National

Association of Evangelicals (this has not yet been finalized). When this organization was founded in 1942 there were objections to joining on the grounds that three of the four founding groups were pentecostal and one of their main objectives was to act as an adversary to the Federal Council of Churches (Purkiser, 1983:71-72). This move is particularly significant in that "evangelical" is a label Nazarenes have traditionaly avoided. One effect these moves will have, intentional or not, is that it will give the church an air of respectability in Christian circles.

Another important development is theological in nature. Through scholarship in the 1970s an alleged discrepancy has been discovered concerning the doctrine of sanctification. Some theologians are concluding that the doctrine taught by Wesley is not the same as the doctrine taught in the latter part of the last century. Therefore, some division has arisen over whether Wesley's views or the historical developments since that time are correct. This problem should not be blown out of proportion in terms of significance but it could be the sign of a coming crisis (Dayton, 1979:788).

A last observation is in regard to financial commitment. A general indicator of this factor is the percentage of personal disposable income individuals give to the church. If commitment stays at the same level or higher over a period of time then the percentage of disposable income should also stay the same or higher. Since these statistics are not available on Nazarenes specifically some generalizations are necessary. The mean personal disposable income for the nation and that for the members of the Church of the Nazarene will be considered equivalent (see

appendix J). This will make it appear that commitment (or the percentage of income) is increasing even if it is remaining the same. Since the Nazarene income and standard of living have been rising at a rate presumably faster than the national average, then ten per cent of the Nazarene income from one year to the next will be an ever greater portion of the natioanl average.* The interesting fact is that Nazarene per capita giving as a percentage of the national personal disposable income has not increased or even remained steady. Since 1948 the trend has been steadily downward. In 1948 the percentage was 8.3 but in 1983 the percentage was 5.9. Again, the decrease is more pronounced than the figures indicate because even if giving remained constant the percentage would rise. Thus, it can be concluded that financial commitment has eroded significantly over the past three decades.

In conclusion, as one looks at the third quarter century the motif that comes to mind is "identity crisis". The Church of the Nazarene is in a transition stage. This is not in itself highly significant since all human organizations are dynamic and changing. What is important is that in the past several years indicators suggest that certain core values are changing (e.g., helping the poor and establishing a distinctive holiness denomination). These changes are not inevitable. The results of such changes are even less predictable. Whether the denomination will rediscover its roots, become something entirely different, or come to rest at something between the two, is hard to tell.

Some recent developments indicate that there may be a return to earlier values. Tom Nees, the pastor of a prestigious Church of the Nazarene in Washington D.C. left his position in the 1970s

to begin work among the urban poor in the same city. In recent years Nees' Community of Hope has provided care and spiritual guidance for these people (Dayton, 1977:791). This is a reflection of the concerns of some members that are beginning to be felt at the general church level. The establishment of the Association of Nazarenes in Social Work and the creation of Christian Counseling Services (run largely by Nazarenes in Tennesee with a budget of a quarter of a million dollars) are further indicators of this change. Thus, there are a number of different currents moving at the same time, both away from and back toward earlier values. How the church will look in another twenty-five years is not readily foreseen.

## SUMMARY

The Church of the Nazarene has held strongly to the conservative theology of the Christian Church throughout its short history. It has its roots in the Holiness Movement and Methodism of the nineteenth century. Its emergence was primarily a result of peoples' desire to preserve the truth and values to which they so strongly held. Over the years, however, these truths and values have become vague. Ironically, one sees many of the traits reflected in the present day Nazarenes that their grandparents found so irksome in the Methodists. Yet there remain some substantial differences between the Church of the Nazarene and the Methodists of a century ago. The important question becomes why have changes occurred in some respects while in others there has been great stability? Is there something about denominations in the Methodist tradition (in particular Nazarenes) that makes them

more susceptible to some kinds of problems than others? Most importantly, does the recounting of the development of the Church of the Nazarene give any clues as to the essential elements involved in religious organizations that are necessary for the scientific study of such phenomena? The answer to these questions proves to be very illuminating, as the next chapter shows.

# CHAPTER 3

At the end of Chapter one, ten variables were presented that are commonly believed to distinguish churches from sects. Having reviewed the development of the Church of the Nazarene an evaluation is needed to determine the accuracy and usefulness of these conceptualizations. After completing this evaluation, a discussion will be presented concerning an alternate method for studying religious organizations. Lastly, some suggestions for further research on the topic are given. Again, as stated in the Introduction, the fundamental question is: What is the most useful model for studying this topic? A look at the most prevalent model will begin the discussion.

## THE CHURCH-SECT THEORY

The Church-Sect Theory has existed for years and has enjoyed wide acceptance. Ultimately, though, how useful is it? To answer this question an analysis will be made of variables regularly used in this theory. By comparing the theory's expectations with the history of the Church of the Nazarene it will be determined how well the model explains and predicts the development of one denomination. After completing this analysis, some observations will be presented concerning the assumptions the theory is based on. The ten variables presented earlier in this paper will serve as the main focus of study.

Ten Variables and the Church of the Nazarene

Although the first two variables mentioned, voluntary association and basis of membership, were not dealt with directly in this paper there is evidence that change has not been great in these areas. It was pointed out that of the members in the denomination in 1958 only ten percent were members in 1933. This is hardly indicative of people being born into the denomination. With the sustained growth of the past twenty-five years it is doubtful that this has changed drastically. Although those who are second generation or longer Nazarenes may be becoming more formalistic in their association it is not evident that this is the overall case. Basis of membership has likewise changed little in that members are still required to publicly acknowledge their adherence to the conservative holiness doctrine of the church (e.g., existence of the Trinity, plenary inspiration of the Bible, atonement through Jesus Christ, etc.) and the church's special rules (e.g. avoidance of the cinema, abstinence from intoxicating liquors, dancing, etc.) (Manual, 1980:36-56). Implied in this adherence is the understanding that the member has experienced salvation and is at least pursuing sanctification. This is essentially identical to the church's standards of sevety-five years ago.

The variable of tolerance has a different history. The people who later became the Church of the Nazarene had for the most part been ecumenical. The early history of the denomination testifies to this. By the 1920s this disposition had changed. Two reasons for this change were noted earlier: 1) The concern for the socialization of a new generation and 2) the increased

polarization from other churches. An interesting observation made by Timothy Smith offers a third cause. Smith claims that it was through the development of committees and boards that the church became more exclusive. In the 1910s, the Board of Publication strongly objected to ministers circulating any papers in their congregations other than those of the denomination. Education committees insisted that only the church's literature be used in Sunday School. Likewise, the hymnal committee was bothered by the fact that congreations were using hymnals from other denominations (Smith, 1962:270-271). Ironically, the expansion of the hierarchy and the increased bureaucratization that so many theorists identify as churchly ultimately contributed to a lack of tolerance and isolation (a sectarian trait). Since the 1920s there has been an increase in tolerance, especially within the past two decades. A decision to join the N.A.E. is evidence of this. Of primary interest, though, is the fact that the church started out tolerant, became more exclusive, and in the end became more tolerant again. It was definitely not a linear transformation.

The fourth variable of socioeconomic status has a pattern similar to that of tolerance. In the beginning, many of the Nazarenes were from what was considered at least a respectable social status. The founders were not poor themselves but were attempting to take the church to the poor. Obviously the church became a church of the poor when they were successful. Consequently, the Nazarene's status went somewhat downward and then was followed by a gradual rise. Interestingly, there are modest signs that the present generation is beginning to take the church to the poor again. It is possible the cycle may be

repeating itself. Whatever the case, it is clear that the development was cyclic.

The issue of lay participation is a little more difficult to deal with. Certainly the modified presbyterian polity, with its relatively large number of delegates, allows for lay participation. Over the years, however, there has been a trend toward relinquishing privileges and powers to the General Assembly for the sake of efficiency. As early as the 1910s the General Superintendents, acting in a crisis, appropriated certain powers not explicitly theirs. As late as 1980 the General Assembly turned over the task of organizing the church to the General Board. Granted, the Board is elected by the Assembly and their plans are subject to the Assembly's approval, but the point is that the General Assembly is becoming more willing to let the leaders at the general church level make the key decisions. Therefore, one would conclude that there has been some decrease in lay participation. To what extent is not clear. Comparatively, lay participation among Nazarenes is higher than in many denominations of the same size or larger.

The size factor can be seen from two standpoints; either the size of the denomination or the size of the congregation. In most theorizing this concept has been used loosely and therefore it is difficult to know what is meant. In the former case, the Church of the Nazarene has experienced almost uninterrupted growth. In the latter case, the denomination started at about forty-five members per congregation, dropped to about thirty-five by 1917, and then reached forty-five again in 1930. After leveling out at about sixty-two to sixty-eight during the 1940s and 1950s, the

number soared to one-hundred and three by 1983 (see appendix H). Once again the church started in one direction and then reversed a short time later. Therefore, one must be specific if using the variable of size.

The seventh variable deals with the hierarchy. Again, some specification is needed. If one is concerned with the number of levels in the system, then very little has changed in the church. The establishment of boards in the 1910s and the creation of divisions in the 1980s are the only two major alterations. However, if one is concerned with the number of people in the hierarchy there is no doubt that it has grown. Even so, it does not appear to have grown any faster than the rate of increase in members. Another means often used to measure a shift to a more elaborate hierarchy is degree of professionalization. Certainly there are more full-time employees and better trained ministers in the denomination but this does not necessarily reflect a change in values. The establishment of a seminary, for instance, was more the realization of dream than a shift in priorities. From the beginning, education was seen as esential. Having paid employees had never been prohibited, it had simply not been required. The real changes occurred with the internationalization process, and even this was partially a gesture to decentralize the church. Consequently, there is little evidence that the church is becoming a highly centralized bureacratic organization. Most changes resulting in expansion have been an attempt to provide adequate care for an ever increasing number of people.

Factor number eight is the group's self conception. Members of the Church of the Nazarene have never considered themselves to

be "The Elect," but they have always considered themselves to be a part of the elect. The primary reason for the church's formation was to preserve the way of life the members had known. It is well documented that most of those who became the first Nazarenes had no intentions of starting a new denomination and in fact, were ecumenically oriented. However, due to the complex problems of the 1880s and 1890s, many of them found themselves covertly or overtly forced out of their churches. Consequently, the Church of the Nazarene began as a collection of holiness refugees. It was certainly not bent on divisiveness or the promotion of some new dogma. They merely tried to preserve what came before and made what organizational changes they needed in order to insure that their efforts would be successful. In recent years there is evidence that this past and its values are becoming vague in the minds of many. With others, however,.there is a resurgence in the same kind of activity the founders intiated. There is certainly some confusion over values but they have not been forgotten altogether.

The issue of time orientation is one that the denomination has officially remained silent on. Unofficially the church made a shift from a postmillenial eschatalogy to a premillenial one after World War I. The impact this had on social concern was significant. The problem is that according to theory the change went the wrong direction. The Church of the Nazarene was concerned about present social issues in the beginning but by the 1920s this interest had largely vanished. There are indicators that there is a shift back toward more socially oriented endeavors. In perspective, however, the denomination has never

been strongly preoccupied with the end times. It has certainly not been a central focus of doctrine. It could be argued that theology concerning this topic had an affect on social concern but it could also be maintained with equal strength that the social environment changed the theology. A mixture of the two is more probable.

The tenth and final variable focused on the expectation of personal perfection. In one sense the Church of the Nazarene has always emphasized this. Becoming sanctified is sometimes referred to as achieving Christian perfection and sanctification is the core of the distinctive Wesleyan doctrine of holiness. What it means to be sanctified has become more vague although the idea that such a state is to be desired has changed very little. What is central to this variable, however, is that it is not sectarianism that calls for perfection but holiness standards. There are groups traditionally labeled sects that are not perfection oriented but there are few holiness "sects" that are not. For a church to be holiness in doctrine and not be concerned with personal perfection would be a literal contradiction. Thus, with the Church of the Nazarene, it is doctrine, not sectarianism, that is at issue. The fact that this is perceived as a characteristic of sectarianism may merely be a testimony to the large number of holiness and pentecostal "sects."*

Analysis of Variables

How accurate are these variables in describing the experience of the Church of the Nazarene? The answer is mixed. Some are

accurate, some are inaccurate, and others are inconclusive. The decrease in lay participation (slight as it may be), the increase in denominational size, the modest growth in the hierarchy, and the growing confusion over group self-conception, all correspond with the Church-Sect model. However, the cyclical nature of tolerance - low-tolerance - tolerance; moderate status - low status - moderate status; and small congregations - smaller congregations - large congregations, contradict the pattern. Other variables like voluntary asociation and basis of membership appear not to have changed at all, though it could be claimed that enough time has not yet elapsed for change to occur. Still other variables like viewing one's group as the elect and an emphasis on the eschatological are foreign to the Nazarene experience. Therefore in attempting to categorize the Church of the Nazarene, one is no farther along than one was when one began. Throughout its entire history the denomination has been a mixed type. This essentially makes theorizing impossible with regard to the Church-Sect Theory. For all practical purposes the sect to church theory tells one very little about the Church of the Nazarene except that the denomination is neither a sect nor a church.

The Great Dilemma

The primary problem with the theory is that it is based on a methodological and theoretical fallacy. The Church-Sect Typology is a misnomer. It would more properly be termed the Church-Sect Tautology. An illustration of this is found in a hypothetical example in which nine of the ten variables employed here are sectarian and one -- size for instance -- is churchly. One is

tempted to regard this case as a large sect, but this is just as invalid as describing an instance of a female son. The hypothetical example is a religious organization but it is not a sect or a church. Two options remain. The first is that a new type or category could be created that would recognize this mixed status. Eventually, though, one would find a an enormous variety of mixed cases in the emprirical world which would also have to be classified. In the end, the typology would be meaningless. There would be so many types outside the standard two (1,022 possibilities) that eventually there could be no such thing as the standard two. The alternative to this approach would be to drop the irregular variable from the definition. This may work initially but a continuation of study would reveal that each of the ten variables has exceptions.* Consequently, one would end up with no useful definitions at all. One must resort to creating new types.

In response to this dilemma some have suggested that variables like these ten should be conceptualized as tendencies of sects and churches rather than as definitions. The problem with this should be obvious. If the variables are not the definitions, then what is a church or a sect? The terms are void of meaning. One cannot measure the tendencies of nonexistent concepts. Therefore one is left with variables but no models to use for comparison.

Must it be concluded, then, that the Church-Sect Theory is of no value and should be abandoned altogether? No. Despite the serious flaws that exist in the construct some valuable insights have been gained. Before enumerating those, however, a brief look at some underlying values will be helpful. After seeing how these

values have biased perception it will be clearer as to why a new model is needed and how the old one can contribute to its construction.

Underlying Assumptions

Upon reviewing the literature of the Church-Sect Typology one notices that an inordinate amount of time is spent discussing and analyzing sects. Churches, to a large extent, are taken for granted. Churches are seen as functional. Their contribution to maintaining a societal system is believed so obvious that they are not worthy of focused attention. Sects, in contrast, are deviant and possibly dysfunctional. Suggestions are made that sects are protest movements of society's outcast against the dominant culture. Locating what it is about the culture that the sect members oppose and determining their strategy of protest is the main focus of attention. These assumptions initially seem plausible but with closer scrutiny they readily betray bias and cultural narrow-mindedness.

Much of the problem with this theorizing is that the terms church and sect have been confused. Both of these terms were borrowed form the Christian tradition but through their use in sociology they have become so twisted that they are at times used to represent the opposite of their original meaning. From the beginning of Christianity, there has been an underlying theme that the present existence of human beings is dominated by evil and rebellion (sin). The understanding that one who becomes aware of God and accepts His love and guidance will be different from one who does not know God, becomes a foregone conclusion. Of constant

concern has been the problem of being seduced and confused by evil and thus led away from God and back into sinfulness. This theme of conflict appears repeatedly throughout the New Testament in the Bible. The disciple John quotes Jesus as saying to his disciples,

> If the world hates you, know that it has hated me before it hated you. If you were of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world, but I chose you out of the world, therefore the world hates you. Remember the word that I said to you, 'A servant is not greater than his master.' If they persecuted me, they will persecute you; if they kept my word, they will keep yours also. But all this they will do to you on my account, because they do not know him who sent me (John 15:18-21, RSV).

Similar observations and warnings are made by the inner circle of disciples (Peter, James, and John):

> Beloved, I beseech you as aliens and exiles to abstain from the passions of the flesh that wage war against your soul (1 Peter 2:11, RSV).

> ...Therefore whoever wishes to be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God (James 4:4, RSV).

> Do not love the world or the things in the world. If any one loves the world, love for the Father is not in him (1 John 2:15, RSV).

Also, the Apostle Paul gave the following advice to Roman Christians.

> Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect (Romans 12:2, RSV).

That the church was to stand in contrast to the surrounding culture is obvious. Danger of corruption by the culture was considered to be an ever present dilemma. Somehow Christians were to be "... in the world but not of it." Developing a way of life that accomplishes this has been a central issue throughout the history of the Christian Church.

The concept of sect has likewise been greatly distorted. The word in the New Testament Greek that is often translated sect in the Bible is hairesis (Strong's Exhaustive Concordance, 1978:894). The English word heresy is derived from it and is nearly identical to it in meaning. What the writers of the New Testament were referring to were heretical groups of people. This poses an interesting problem in comparing the Church of the Nazarene with the Methodist Church. The Nazarenes have made every effort to hold on to what was taught before while the Methodists have changed so rapidly in their theology that today many Methodists no longer see Christ as essential to salvation (Bainbridge and Stark, 1980). Yet the literature regularly refers to the Church of the Nazarene as a sect and the United Methodist Church as a church. The terms were borrowed from a specific context (Christianity) and

used to mean their opposites when dealing with that context. Cultural bias is the apparent reason for this manipulation.

Weber and Troelstch, whose religious perspectives were not in great tension with the culture, apparently assumed that their experence of Christianity was churchly and that those in opposition to it were sectarian. No analysis was made of the degree to which any given group was in accordance with the values of historical Christianity. Their categorizations, as with theorists that followed them, were based on ethnocentric conceptualizations. The terms church and sect had specific meanings in the Christian Church and sociologists have borrowed the terms with little regard for the context from which they came. Furthermore, the inverted use of the terms obscures the fact that the Church has a meaning system that is being maintained and promoted and is not merely reacting to its environment (i.e., a protest movement against the larger culture).* By identifying the church with the culture it must be concluded that their meaning systems are one and the same (or nearly so) and that all other religious groups are either imported or reactive. Thus, the Church-Sect Typology effectively conceals one of the most essential elements.

The common interpretation for groups like the Church of the Nazarene is an excellent example of how the nature of a church's existence is often muddled. Starting with the assumption that the Methodist Church was the group maintaining a churchly meaning system at the turn of the century, one comes to one set of conclusions. Nazarenes were then opposed to the Methodists and the Methodist's meaning system, a meaning system that was not much

different from the culture. Therefore, Nazarenes must have been protesting. What were they protesting? Since they were poor and from rural backgrounds they must have been protesting wealth and urbanism. United by these common interests they split from the Methodist Church and began a new denomination with a new meaning system. However, over time they have prospered, gained status, and are now leaving their sectarian past behind.

Should one begin with the understanding that the Nazarenes were the ones who maintained the churchly meaning system, a different story unfolds. Those who eventually became the Nazarenes witnessed a drift away from a churchly meaning system in their denomination. Much of the problem lay in the urbanization of Methodists who were becoming more concerned about the culture's values than the church's. The future Nazarenes attempted to maintain their heritage by emphasizing sanctification and taking the gospel to those who did not have it, namely the poor. They were unsuccessful in their efforts and in the end found themselves shut out of the Methodist Church. The Church of the Nazarene then emerged from those who had been removed from their communions. Their goal was to maintain what they saw as truth. However, over a period of years, the Nazarenes have become less clear about their meaning system. Whether they will shift to a new one or rediscover the churchly one that they knew remains to be seen.

Either of these two scenarios are possible. However, both cannot be entirely correct. In order to establish the accuracy of these scenarios one must first determine the meaning system that is to be used for measurement. More will be said about this later, but for now it can be concluded that the history of the

Either of these two scenarios are possibile. However, both cannot be entirely correct. In order to establish the accuracy of these scenarios one must first determine the meaning system that is to be used for measurement. More will be said about this later, but for now it can be concluded that the history of the Church of the Nazarene strongly suggests the second conceptualization even though it cannot be determined precisely how far either group strayed from the meaning system. Also, with the second conceptualization one can conceive of three possible types of religious organizations: 1) those that conform to the cultural meaning system; 2) those that conform to the church's meaning system; 3) those that do not conform to either meaning system. Within this framework there is the possiblity that the cultural meaning system may become very similar to that of the church's. With the first assumption there are only the organizations that conform to the culture and those that act against it, because the culture and the church are viewed as one.

In essence, then, the Church-Sect Theory is methodologically and theoretically unsound. Yet if as was stated earlier, the typology should not be abandoned, in what way can it be helpful? The following new model answers this question.

## A NEW MODEL

In undertaking the construction of a new model one must make every effort to avoid mistakes of the past. At the same time one must not ignore the useful contributions that have been made. Therefore the construction of this model will begin by recognizing some of the insights of past scholars.

Foundations

Possibly the most significant contribution made by the Church-Sect theorists is the observation that there has been a great deal of strife in the Christian Church. From the beginning of Christianity through the fifteenth century, new orders were established within the Roman Catholic Chruch that many times were in oppostion to the compromised nature of the church. In the Western World, since the time of the Reformation, the practice has been to start new organizations when such problems arise rather than remaining under the umbrella of the larger structure. The standard reason for breaking with the older structure is that it has "sold out to the world" and the new group intends to restore what has been abandoned. Thus, there is an endless cycle of tension between orthodoxy and heresy.

Up to this point the Church-Sect Theory has been very insightful. It is the assumption that culture and the church share the same meaning system that is being challenged here. In this new model it is held that the Christian Church has a meaning system of its own that is in tension with the culture's. Consequently, the question of "Why do sects emerge?" in the Church-Sect Theory becomes one of "Why do churches accomodate themselves to the culture?" in the new theory. Even this perspective must be applied in the most general sense, for it is possible that the culture may accommodate itself to the church.

An obvious problem with this conceptualization is that it is based on the experience of Western culture. A valid question is, "Do all cultures experience the same relationship between religion and culture?" It would appear not. In many Moslem societies, for

instance, it is nearly impossible to make a distinction between the religious structure and the cultural structure for they are one and the same. This differs from Christianity in that in most predominantly Christian nations there are separate church and government structures. At times in Western history the two have been very nearly the same but there has almost always been the notion of two separate institutions. Therefore, can a model that postulates two meaning systems be useful in a society where only one is predominant? Furthermore, within a meaning system like Taoism, for example, is the study of religious organizations even a meaningful possibility? For the present these questions will be left unanswered, although ultimately they must be confronted, and energies will be concentrated on the limited information gained from the present analysis. By understanding the Western phenomenon, contributions will be made toward a resolution of the questions posed.

Types of Organization

Based on the concept of two meaning systems there are broadly three types of religious organizations that emerge. The first could be called a dominant order since it conforms to the cultural or the dominant meaning system. Organizations of this type may have been founded as religious organizations, but have become so permeated with dominant cultural values that its original values are no longer present. In fact, it has become so much like the culture that the two can not be differentiated. It would correspond to the definition that Stark and Bainbridge gave to the ideal type of church. One would not expect to find so drastic a

case as an ideal type in existence. Rather, it is to be used as a basis for comparison. The second type is that of a divine order, an organization that is in perfect harmony with the major religious meaning system. Assuming the ideal typical dominant and divine orders existed in a given society, there would be constant tension between the two. The degree to which one penetrated the other would affect the amount of tension experienced. The divine order corresponds to the the earlier ideal type of sect. The third type would be a distinctive order. In this type the order would be totally different from the other two systems and therefore would find itself in great tension. To a less severe degree, any group that contradicts both meaning systems (as opposed to adding on to them) would be in this category. This would correspond to a cult.

Obviously these three are very general categories, but this is by intention. Future study will give them greater clarity. The essential factor is that the problem of tension between meaning systems is being offered as the defining variable. All other variables refer back to this one. What is still missing is a satisfactory conceptualization of the fundamental features that religious organizations have in common. If this can be determined it will significantly aid this area of study. Research will no longer be based on impressionistic observations but on identifiable features of religious organizations. From studying the present example it would appear that there are at least four such features.

## The Fundamental Aspects of Religious Organizations

The four aspects of religious organizations are a meaning system, structure, sociocultural environment, and socioeconomoic status. While identifiable they are not easily separated. Each of these acts on, and is acted on, by the other three. Most importantly, every religious organization has these features in common. Therefore, if one begins with the idea that maintaining one meaning system against another is the central issue, then one may investigate the interaction of these four features to determine how this is done successfully or how it fails. Before this can be done, however, more must be said about the nature of these four. The following is a brief description of each of the aspects with a presentation of the evidence of the their existence in the experience of the Church of the Nazarene.

### Meaning System

The meaning system is at the core of an organization. In brief, a meaning system is a set of "... dominant meanings in a culture that are associated with a particular set of symbols" (Wuthnow, 1981:24). This is distinct from a worldview or a belief-system. These deal with members' sum total of beliefs about reality. What is being suggested here is an interrelated set of symbols that provide the basis of meaning from which all other beliefs emerge. Therefore, as Robert Wuthnow points out, when one comes across the statement "I believe in God," it is to be treated as a symbol "... rather than a mere indicator of an internal but unobservable orientation" (Wuthnow, 1981:30). What becomes important, then, is the system of symbols that this symbol

is a part of. Therefore, if the above statement is made in conjunction with the statement "God is a person," then there is a strong indication that the meaning system is theistic as opposed to atheistic or pantheistic. As other significant symbols are discovered then the system will become better defined.*

Within the Church of the Nazarene there are many examples of how central the meaning system is. In their attempt to promote holiness doctrine the early Nazarenes found that it was difficult to work within an episcopal form of government. To insure that they could continue their efforts when they formed a new denomination, each of the founding groups set up very democratic structures. The promotion and the protection of the doctrine of holiness were the determinant factors in the area of polity.

Another example occurred in the 1920s when the church changed from a postmillenial eschatology to a premillenial eschatolotgy. While not the only factor, it was a partial cause for the abandonment of social action. In the first example the meaning system influenced the structure but in this case a change in one part of the meaning system altered another. Thus, the relationship between the four aspects is both interactive and intra-active.

A more recent example is the internationalization process. As missionary work began to expand it became apparent that there was a disparity between what the meaning system dictated and what actually existed. The result was a change in the overall structure of representation in the church. The meaning system was a central force in shaping the organization.

Not all change is a result of the meaning system. As will be

seen below the meaning system is subject to influences around it. Also, there may be certain aspects to the system that are self-defeating. In the present case, evangelism is a high priority and yet smaller churches are better at maintaining the meaning system. By being successful evangelistically the church may grow large and erode the values it was trying to promote. Thus, there is a complex web of factors involved.

Structure

Structure is another important aspect of religious organizations. Loosely defined, it is the total set of relationships between individuals and groups of individuals in a given society. Structure reflects the meaning system in that the meaning system has great influence on the ordering of people in the organization and on the locus of authority. The latter point is of particular importance.

In contrast with many other kinds of organizations, the religious organization is almost always traditional.* The major exception would be new denominations which tend to have highly charismatic leaders. As theologian John McKenzie suggests, the church has "... a government of men and not a government of laws.... The church has an organization; it is not an organization" (McKenzie, 1966:115,138). Within the Christian tradition the leaders are usually believed to have been ordained by God even though they may be required to meet certain criteria. Thus, in a denomination like the Church of the Nazarene where the leaders are elected, it is generally believed that when a person is elected it is because God desired the election. God is seen as

the Head of the Church and the leaders of the church are merely his lieutenants. Much of their authority is derived from the Head of the Church who is Christ. Should, however, the leader go beyond the limits of tradition and the meaning system, his/her authority will become suspect and illegitimate. Obviously this is an idealistic picture of religious organizations but to the degree an organization within the Christian Church is free from "corruption" it will fit this description.

The unfortunate fact is that this area has often been neglected in the study of denominations; particularly in Church-Sect Theory. Most theorist's energies have been focused on the beliefs, behavior, and accommodation of the denomination to the culture. The powerful influence that structure can have is often missed. The Church of the Nazarene has demonstrated the power of structure in a variety of ways.

One of the most poignant examples is the structure of the Nineteenth Century Methodist Church. Because of their unique circuit riding campaigns on the frontier that church grew to be the largest denomination in the country. A primary result of their efforts was that the church became so large that it was difficult to maintain discipline. In the final decades of the century the Methodists were moving away from earlier values. Attempts to reverse this change were blocked by the structure of the church. As soon as a holiness advocate gained too much influence he would be rotated out of his position and into another. The bishops had the power to redistribute people as they saw fit. Thus, the structure which denied people the opportunity to influence their denomination was a major factor in the

formation of the Church of the Nazarene along with other holiness groups. As a result, most of these denominations have representative governments.

In more recent years other examples have been observed. As congregations in the Church of the Nazarene have become larger, values appear to have shifted. The great majority of people in decision making positions in the General Assemblies are from larger congregations. Consequently, decisions favor the large church setting at the expense of the small. The restructuring of the Sunday School program and the negative impact this has had on attendance is a reflection of this development. Also, although it is not yet apparent, it may be that the expanding number of people in large congregations will also lead to a deterioration of the meaning system. If the Methodist Church of the last century is any guide one would expect this to be the case.

Another recent example is the internationalization process. Because of the growing number of church members outside North America an inconsistency was discovered concerning the denominations attitude toward internationals. As a result the representative system was revamped. Rather than legitimizing the current status and changing the meaning system, the leaders acted to rectify what they saw as illegitimate, thereby maintaining the meaning system. This is a good example of how the meaning system is seen as the core and yet how vitally important the structure is in maintaining it.

Of particular interest in all three examples is how the structure is so closely tied to the meaning system. In the first case the structure of the Methodist Church promoted growth but it

also diluted the meaning system. In the Church of the Nazarene, for whatever reasons, there have been ever larger congregations. As a consequence there will likely be less commitment to the church and a change in the meaning system. In the last example the meaning system played a corrective role and served as a check on the structure. The implication is that the structure is the tool for simultaneously maintaining and promoting the meaning system. If this be the case then the degree to which structure is capable of fulfilling these resonsibilities becomes a very major issue. The structure and the meaning system are so integrally attached that a change in one will almost certainly cause a change in the other. Therefore, neither can be dismissed in any model of religious organizations.

Sociocultural Environment

The third aspect of religious organizations is that they all exist in, and therefore must deal with, a sociocultural environment. The term is basically self-explanatory and parallel to religious organizations in that it has a meaning system (culture) and a structure (society). In the context of this theory it is postulated that the meaning system in the environment is to some degree contrary to the system of any given religious organization. It is assumed that if they were identical then the religious organization or the societal structure would vanish, or at least the two would merge. This not being the case, one would anticipate tension between the two. Since most members of religious organizations live in both settings, effort is likely to be made to reduce the tension. This can be done in a number of

ways. First of all, one may withdraw from the society so that tension may be avoided. A second approach is for individuals to leave the organization to remove the tension. A third possiblity is that those in one of the two systems would try to change the other. Another approach would be for the religious organization to accommodate itself to the environment by changing its values and behavior or vice versa. Yet another alternative would be an aggressive attempt by people in the religious organization to convert others to their meaning system. Most groups would be involved in some combination of the last two. This would be true locally at the congregational level or at the denominational level in a society. In the Church of the Nazarene one can readily identify several of these approaches.

One case where the church gave in to the dominant meaning system was in their shift from a postmillenial to a premillenial eschatology. A major factor in this change was the pessimism that followed World War I. The disillusionment of society with the idea that people were getting "better" worked its way into the theology of the church. Thus, the church changed its meaning system in accordance with the culture.

Two instances where the church held to its meaning system and influenced the culture were during the period just before and just after the above event. During the 1910s, when the Methodists and other churches were fueding over the Fundamentalists vs. Modernists controversy, the Nazarenes maintained a solid conservative stance that attracted many Midwesterners to their denomination. In the 1930s, when the liberals and Fundamentalists were trying to recover from the problems of previous years, many

people joined the Church of the Nazarene. By staying with their meaning system the Nazarenes were a refuge from the controversy of the times. As a consequence they emerged stronger than many denominations because many people were apparently attracted to membership.

Other ways in which the environment and the church interacted can be seen in the growth of world missions. Because many Nazarenes had been taken around the world in World War II, the mission fields expanded rapidly. There is little doubt that the denomination grew faster than it would have without the war. Thus, environmental events have a profound impact even though they may not be operating directly at the level of values.

A last issue that should be addressed here, is inter-denominational relations. The Church of the Nazarene exists within the dominant society but at the same time it exists in the Christian Church. This means a particular action or event can be viewed in two ways. A change in status in one setting,for instance, may not be paralleled in the other. Tension is always possible because there are two measuring scales to deal with. The status of religious organizations is determined by its conforminty to one or the other.

Socioeconomic Status

The last aspect is socioeconomic status. This term refers primarily to the rank ordering of people or groups of people on some kind of societal or economic scale. The difficulty here is that the individual that belongs to a religious organization must deal with two different status systems. The issue of

denominational status was mentioned above. This tension applies at the level of the individual members. An increase in status in one system may mean a decrease in the other. If one becomes wealthy, he/she may gain status within the dominant structure but lose status in the church because of his/her worldliness. Again, as with the issue of tension, the assumption is made that a resolution will be sought. The means by which this may be done are similar to those in the previous section.

A difficulty in discussing this aspect is that it is quite similar to the structural aspect of both the religious organization and the sociocultural environment. In fact, it may be argued that socioeconomic status should be included with these. The reason for separating it out is that it is qualitatively different enough to deserve special consideration. The emphasis in structure is on the way the various roles are related to each other while with status the emphasis is on the power, prestige, and consequences of being in a given role. It is difficult to talk about one without the other and yet they are two different issues. Consequently, they have been separated in this conceptualization.

A good example of how status affects religious organizations is the urban vs. rural conflict that emerged at the end of the last century in the Methodist Church. The Rural Methodists lived a modest existence while urban Methodists were caught up in the prosperity being achieved in the larger cities. As a result the urban Methodists had become respectable in the eyes of the culture while the rural Methodists continued at a less respectable status. This eventually resulted in accusations of compromise on the part

of the rural faction while the urbanites tended to regard their antagonists as disgruntled fanatics. This change in status of the two groups contributed to their falling out around the turn of the century.

Another way status has had an impact is illustrated by the events of the 1940s in the Church of the Nazarene. At this time there was a complete turnover in general superintendents. It was immediately after this event that splinter groups began to break off. The new Superintendents did not have the status their predecessors had had. Earlier leaders had played a part in the church's formation and had proved their loyalty through years of service. It is likely that the high status of the earlier Superintendents was the factor that kept dissenting groups in the church. As long as these men were present there was hope for reform. When they died this hope was gone.

One last example is the change in the role of women in the church. At the beginning, twenty percent of the denomination's ministers were women. By the mid-1970s this had declined to six percent. All of the reasons for this are not clear but part of it was due to a rise in status after the 1940s. The dominant theme in the culture was that women were not to be in positions of leadership. The church seemingly adopted this position (Dayton and Dayton, 1976:92). With the rise in prosperity observed during this period and the attendant rise in status, it appears that values were changed.

SUMMARY AND FINAL OBSERVATOIONS

In summarizing these observations two problems have been noted in what has been the most prominent theoretical model for the study of religious organizations for decades. The first is that the Church-Sect Theory ideal types were created out of heuristic impressions rather than being based on some defining variable. The result has been a nebulous and almost useless model. Imprecise conceptualizations of models have led to incoherent, and at times, contradictory theorizing. The major contribution this theory has made is that tension exists between religious organizations. The terms used to express this situation, however, were inappropriate. This led to the second problem. The sect was defined as a schismatic religious group that departs from the culture only to become accommodated to it again at some future time. Thus it becomes a church. This is an exact reversal of the original meaning of the terms within the Christian tradition. As a result, the possibility that the "sect" was acting out of a system of values rather than merely reacting to the culture was missed along with the idea that the "church" may be the one to adopt heretical values. This is not to mention the negative connotations put on groups labeled as "sects." The need for better defined models and more accurate, less value laden terms is apparent.

In this thesis it has been suggested that tension is the central feature just as earlier observations have noted. The cause for tension, however, is that there is competition between two major meaning systems. Splinter groups will form not just as reactive protest groups who have some how been disinherited

(although this is a definite possibility), but they may also be groups trying to maintain a meaning system that is being corrupted or abandoned. These groups try to maintain and promote a divine meaning system over and against a dominant meaning system. To the degree a religious organization conforms to one or the other would classify it as divine order or a dominant order. This would leave a third possibility of an organization that conforms to neither meaning system; it would be called a distinctive order. To analyze these types one would study the various aspects of these orders. Four that have been isolated in this study are the meaning system, structure, sociocultural environment, and socioeconomic status. Thus, a groundwork has been established for a model that should rectify some of the weaknesses of earlier attempts. It should also provide better insights into the sociology of religion. It is, however, only a groundwork upon which further work is needed. The following are some suggestions about where this work might be focused.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The primary focus for research on this topic should be the clarification of what a meaning system is and how it can be operationalized. This method is one that has seldom been used. Even so, Robert Wuthnow (1981) and others build a strong case for its employment. It takes the focus off of collective individual beliefs and puts it on the fundamental set of symbols that a given group of people recognize. The difficulty is in identifying the system. It may be that extensive testing will be required to see what dominant symbols hang together. For the Christian Church, a

place to begin may be with creeds that have existed for centuries and to which most denominations adhere. The Nicene Creed (see appendix B) would be a good one to begin with, considering its age (written 381 A.D.) and the fact that it was intended to be a statement of core beliefs (Leith, 1973:31-33). After establishing the core meaning system it can be determined what peculiarities a given denomination has added. Groups that would share part of the core but contradict other parts would be in the distinctive category. Isolating a meaning system for the culture may be a great deal more tedious, particularly in a pluralistic setting like the United States.

Another area for research would be comparative studies. In comparing the early history of the Methodists with the early history of the Church of the Nazarene one notices some striking similarities. In both cases the new church was socially involved and worked with the outcast, the primary founder did not want a new denomination, there was early rapid growth, social status of members increased, original values became unclear, and splinter groups eventually formed. In the Church of the Nazarene in recent years, there have been signs that there may be a doctrinal conflict developing and that some problems are arising between large urban churches and small rural ones. These were the same problems the Methodists had one hundred years ago. Yet other holiness churches have not had similar experiences. Why is it that some denominations in the same tradition seem prone to have similar problems and benefits and others have different experiences? Is it possible that a group that is a divine order may repel (or attract) prospective adherents by putting heavy

emphasis on its non-core distinctives (e.g., an emphasis on sanctification)? Are there categories of structures? What strengths and weaknesses do they have in promoting and maintaining a meaning system? By comparing various organizations a great deal of insight could be gained.

A final suggestion is that this theory be evaluated in a non-Western context. Does it apply in other cultural settings? If not, what revisions need to be made in the current model to account for these differences? Is this model peculiar to Christianity because of the Christian meaning system? By answering these questions, much could be learned about religious organizations and the relationship between religion and culture in general.

# CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this paper it was stated that the main purpose of this study was to analyze the Church-Sect Theory and determine if a new model was needed in the sociological study of religious organizations. Upon reviewing the literature it was evident that there are serious problems with definitions in the theory. Stark and Bainbridge (1979) made an excellent contribution in isolating tension as the primary variable for distinguishing between groups. After reviewing the history of the Church of the Nazarene in light of common variables used in the typology, it became clear just how poorly conceived the theory was. While Stark and Bainbridge's contribution was helpful in this regard another difficulty was overlooked. The terms that were used effectively obscured the relationship of the religious organization to the culture. Thus, new terms were used and the focus of tension was recognized as being between two meaning systems, not between the culture and deviant groups. In addition, some fundamental aspects of religious organizations were identified that should give greater direction to research. In conclusion, it may be stated that the Church-Sect model definitely has major flaws. It does, however, recognize the element of tension between religious organizations and because it does so, it has maintained a large following. While certainly needing a major reworking, the model has been useful in creating a new model. It is hoped that the suggestions made here will aid in the development of that conceptualization.

## Notes

### Introduction

1 The term religious organizations is used somewhat loosely in this paper. Generally, this category would include any minimally structured group of people who meet together on a regular basis for worship or the perfomance of rites. In Western culture this would be similar to the term denomination though it is intended to be somewhat broader. Also the terms "Church-Sect Typology" and "Church-Sect Theory" are often used interchangeably in the literature. The same will be done here.

### Chapter 1

14 Stark and Bainbridge refer to receiving antibiotics for an infection as a specific reward while a magical potion in the same circumstances would be a specific compensator. An example of a general compensator would be "heaven" since it implies a variety of rewards (1979:120).

22 For a more detailed description of how tension is measured see Bainbridge and Stark's "Sectarian Tension", (1980).

### Chapter 2

28 This discussion on theology is my capsulation of the understanding the Nazarenes have of some of the central issues in Christian theology. For a more detailed discussion see Purkiser's Exploring our Christian Faith (1960), Greathouse and Dunning's An Introduction to Wesleyan Theology (1982) and Wiley's Christian Theology (1940). While the wording used here may not be identical with that used by these scholars this presentation relates the central issues.

34 Wesley embraced Arminian theology primarily because of his parents influence. Both parents had been converted to Anglicanism from the Puritan tradition. They rejected the Puritan teaching in favor of the dominant perspective in the Church of England which was more rationalistic and free will oriented. John never departed from this early training. In fact, it was his belief in free will that spurred him on in his quest for Christian perfection. If there was an element of human will involved could one live a more holy life by exercising it properly? Answering this question became Wesley's quest (see Cannon, 1956; Rowe,1976).

39 The "doctrine of holiness" is a broader term than sanctification. Sanctification is usually understood to be an event or a process. Holiness finds its base in

sanctification but it also addresses the results and the benefits of sanctification. Its focus is on an ongoing lifestyle rather than a one time event.

42 One of the best sources for studying this era is Timothy Smith's Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War. (1957).

45 For further information on feminism and the Holiness Movement see Dayton and Dayton's "'Your Daughters shall prophesy': Feminism in the Holiness Movement." (1976).

71 Widney left the Nazarenes because he was uncomfortable with the amount of noise and chaos that sometimes accompanied the services. He was not disgruntled. He merely preferred the more structured Methodist style of worship.

82 Adherents to the social gospel have primarily been concerned with reforming society. Often issues regarding personal salvation are played down if not ignored.

88 For a review of some of these efforts see J. Fred Parker's "Those Early Nazarenes Cared. Compassionate Ministries of the Nazarenes." (1983).

89 See Jones' Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism (1974b).

95 All statistics for the Church of the Nazarene, unless otherwise stated, are drawn from the General Assembly Journals. These are the figures for the United States only! In order to maintain the comparabiltity of the statistics this was necessary. For more detail concerning the collection of the statistics see the tables in appendicies C-E.

101 This figure (along with those following) includes Canadian Nazarene College.

113 Some in the church were evidently bothered by recent events. Johnson (1982) begins his book on a defensive note that reappears at times throughout the work. The book seems to have been written partly to clarify an issue that some are suspicious of.

117 These figures were obtained from the Department of Church Growth for the Church of the Nazarene (located in Kansas City, Mo.).

118 The accuracy of this claim is not certain. However, it does appear that the alteration was at least a major factor.

124 Hypothetically, if the per capita disposable income for Nazarenes was $1,000 in 1970 and $2,000 in 1980, and the national per capita disposable income was $1,000 and $1,500

respectively for the same years, then the Nazarene percentage of money given to the church would appear to rise by staying the same. If they gave ten percent both years (1970=$100 and 1980=$200) there percentage of the national figure would be higher in 1980 (1970=10% and 1980=13%).

Chapter 3

133 Stark and Bainbridge claim that over forty percent of sects in the United States are from the Pentecostal and Holiness traditions (1981:141).

135 See Coleman's "Church-Sect Typology and Organizational Precariousness." (1968) for examples of these exceptions.

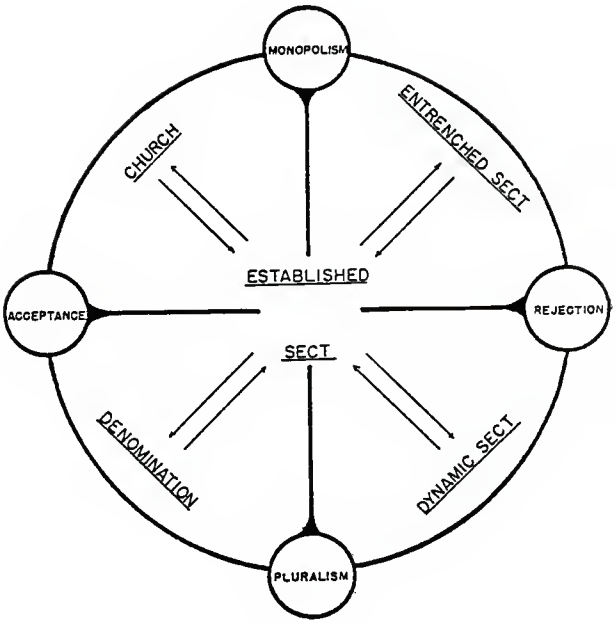
139 The term "meaning system" will be elaborated shortly. For present purposes it means a collection of interrelated symbols that a group of people share in common. It is the basis out of which people act and interpret the world around them.

146 See Robert Wuthnow's "Two Traditions in the Study of Religion." (1980) for further information.

147 The term "traditional" is used here in the Weberian sense (i.e., in contrast to charismatic or legal-rational authority).

Appendix A

Swato's Model




Source: "Swatos, William "Monopolism, Pluralism, Acceptance, and Rejection," Review of Religious Research 16 (3), 1975:174-185.

## Appendix B

### Nicene Creed (381 A.D.)

We believe in one God, the Father All Governing [pantokratora], creator [poieten] of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten from the Father before all time [pro panton aionon], Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten not created [poiethenta], of the same essence [reality] as the Father before [homoousion to patri], through Whom all things came into being, Who for us men and because of our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became human [enanthropesanta]. He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose on the third day, according to the scriptures, and ascended to heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the living and dead. His Kingdom shall have no end [telos].

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and life-giver, Who proceeds from the Father, Who is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and Son, Who spoke through the prophets; and in one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins. We look forward to the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

Source: Leith, John H. (ed.), Creeds of the Church: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to Present. Revised, Richmond Vir.: John Knox Press, 1973.

Appendix C

Statistical Table*

| Year | Churches | Members | Average Weekly Sunday School Attendance | Average Congregation Size** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1908 | 228 | 10,414 | n.a. | 45.7 |
| 1909 | 308# | 13,776# | n.a. | 44.7# |
| 1910 | 388# | 17,138# | n.a. | 44.2# |
| 1911 | 469 | 20,501 | n.a. | 43.7 |
| 1912 | 576 | 21,837 | n.a. | 37.9 |
| 1913 | 625 | 22,910 | n.a. | 36.7 |
| 1914 | 708 | 27,526 | n.a. | 38.9 |
| 1915 | 842 | 32,129 | n.a. | 38.2 |
| 1916 | 901 | 32,388 | n.a. | 36.0 |
| 1917 | 917 | 32,301 | n.a. | 35.2 |
| 1918 | 935 | 33,486 | n.a. | 35.8 |
| 1919 | 949 | 34,199 | n.a. | 36.0 |
| 1920 | 1,014 | 36,539 | n.a. | 36.0 |
| 1921 | 1,114 | 42,722 | n.a. | 38.4 |
| 1922 | 1,173 | 46,965 | n.a. | 40.0 |
| 1923 | 1,266 | 49,466 | n.a. | 39.0 |
| 1924 | 1,348 | 53,917 | n.a. | 40.0 |
| 1925 | 1,446 | 56,475 | n.a. | 39.1 |
| 1926 | 1,508 | 62,436 | n.a. | 41.4 |
| 1927 | 1,542 | 67,244 | n.a. | 43.6 |
| 1928 | 1,658 | 72,652 | n.a. | 40.8 |
| 1929 | 1,730 | 76,265 | 83,069 | 44.1 |
| 1930 | 1,792 | 82,038 | 95,450 | 45.8 |
| 1931 | 1,813 | 91,411 | 111,994 | 50.4 |
| 1932 | 1,911 | 100,209 | 129,628 | 52.4 |
| 1933 | 1,974 | 109,984 | 137,978 | 55.7 |
| 1934 | 2,084 | 120,302 | 151,856 | 57.7 |
| 1935 | 2,188 | 128,247 | 157,075 | 58.6 |
| 1936 | 2,262 | 133,763 | 154,227 | 59.1 |
| 1937 | 2,353 | 140,588 | 157,064 | 59.8 |
| 1938 | 2,443 | 149,773 | 177,111 | 61.3 |
| 1939 | 2,526 | 158,265 | 193,721 | 62.7 |
| 1940 | 2,621 | 165,749 | 198,926 | 63.2 |
| 1941 | 2,709 | 170,715 | 201,698 | 63.0 |
| 1942 | 2,810 | 177,231 | 197,907 | 63.1 |
| 1943 | 2,930 | 182,184 | 189,311 | 62.2 |
| 1944 | 2,977# | 187,365 | 201,297 | 62.9 |
| 1945 | 3,035# | 190,965 | 208,390 | 62.9 |
| 1946 | 3,139# | 196,809 | 225,575 | 62.7 |
| 1947 | 3,197# | 204,516 | 245,266 | 64.0 |
| 1948 | 3,271 | 211,977 | 263,770 | 64.8 |
| 1949 | 3,392 | 219,180 | 283,614 | 64.6 |
| 1950 | 3,495 | 227,176 | 305,778 | 65.0 |
| 1951 | 3,632 | 236,223 | 315,911 | 65.0 |
| 1952 | 3,710 | 243,152 | 329,175 | 65.5 |
| 1953 | 3,826 | 249,749 | 341,292 | 65.3 |
| 1954 | 3,963 | 260,551 | 362,247 | 65.8 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1955 | 4,083 | 270,576 | 378,818 | 66.3 |
| 1956 | 4,169 | 277,618 | 381,982 | 66.6 |
| 1957 | 4,225 | 281,646 | 385,054 | 66.7 |
| 1958 | 4,300 | 290,641 | 383,768 | 67.6 |
| 1959 | 4,399 | 299,853 | 394,418 | 68.2 |
| 1960 | 4,458 | 307,629 | 398,607 | 69.0 |
| 1961 | 4,486 | 315,647 | 405,415 | 70.4 |
| 1962 | 4,509 | 323,491 | 408,661 | 71.7 |
| 1963 | 4,546 | 330,097 | 406,358 | 72.6 |
| 1964 | 4,569 | 337,033 | 413,841 | 73.8 |
| 1965 | 4,582 | 343,373 | 416,075 | 74.9 |
| 1966 | 4,623 | 350,882 | 413,740 | 75.9 |
| 1967 | 4,652 | 358,346 | 416,614 | 77.0 |
| 1968 | 4,674 | 364,789 | 417,035 | 78.1 |
| 1969 | 4,662 | 372,943 | 410,638 | 80.0 |
| 1970 | 4,636 | 383,284 | 410,645 | 82.7 |
| 1971 | 4,654 | 394,197 | 423,443 | 84.7 |
| 1972 | 4,681 | 404,732 | 442,564 | 86.5 |
| 1973 | 4,717 | 417,200 | 448,230 | 88.5 |
| 1974 | 4,727 | 430,128 | 466,195 | 91.0 |
| 1975 | 4,733 | 441,093 | 478,563 | 93.2 |
| 1976 | 4,727 | 449,205 | 488,711 | 95.0 |
| 1977 | 4,730 | 455,648 | 470,146 | 96.3 |
| 1978 | 4,719 | 462,124 | 455,597 | 98.1 |
| 1979 | 4,727 | 469,449 | 443,760 | 99.3 |
| 1980 | 4,749 | 477,727 | 449,710 | 100.6 |
| 1981 | 4,784 | 485,345 | 444,414 | 101.5 |
| 1982 | 4,800 | 491,797 | 436,119 | 102.5 |
| 1983 | 4,828 | 501,088 | 436,832 | 103.8 |

* Number of churches, members, and the average weekly Sunday School attendance were taken from the General Assembly Journals. These statistics are for the United States only. Several districts not in the United States were included in the United States totals from 1908-1948. These districts were isolated and subtracted from the total. These districts include: Alaska, Alberta, Australia, British Columbia, British Isles, Canada West, Hawaii, Italy, Manitoba-Saskatchewan, Ontario, Scandinavia, and South Africa. Some districts have on occasion crossed international boundaries. The numbers, however, have been insignificant and therefore no adjustment was made.

** These figures were computed by dividing the number of members by the number of churches.

\# This figure is an estimate. Data was not available for this year.

Appendix D

Financial Table 1

| Year | Grand Total Paid* | Grand Total Paid 1967 Dollars** | Per Capita Giving Current Dollars# | Per Capita Giving 1967 Dollars## |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1923 | 2,243,507 | 4,390,425 | 45.4 | 88.8 |
| 1924 | 2,657,707 | 5,190,834 | 49.3 | 96.3 |
| 1925 | 2,872,245 | 5,470,943 | 50.9 | 96.9 |
| 1926 | 3,173,561 | 5,987,851 | 50.8 | 95.9 |
| 1927 | 3,385,848 | 6,511,246 | 50.4 | 96.8 |
| 1928 | 3,469,103 | 6,762,384 | 47.8 | 93.1 |
| 1929 | 3,347,171 | 6,524,700 | 43.9 | 85.6 |
| 1930 | 3,408,827 | 6,817,654 | 41.6 | 83.1 |
| 1931 | 3,064,307 | 6,719,971 | 33.5 | 73.5 |
| 1932 | 2,605,438 | 6,370,264 | 26.0 | 63.6 |
| 1933 | 2,313,758 | 5,963,294 | 21.0 | 54.2 |
| 1934 | 2,632,624 | 6,565,147 | 21.9 | 54.6 |
| 1935 | 2,926,573 | 7,120,616 | 22.8 | 55.5 |
| 1936 | 3,208,779 | 7,731,998 | 24.0 | 57.8 |
| 1937 | 3,729,513 | 8,673,286 | 26.5 | 61.7 |
| 1938 | 3,975,662 | 9,421,000 | 26.6 | 62.9 |
| 1939 | 4,147,279 | 9,969,421 | 26.2 | 63.0 |
| 1940 | 5,364,844 | 12,773,438 | 32.4 | 77.1 |
| 1941 | 6,130,903 | 13,902,274 | 35.9 | 81.4 |
| 1942 | 7,495,985 | 15,360,625 | 42.3 | 86.7 |
| 1943 | 9,846,735 | 19,009,141 | 54.0 | 104.3 |
| 1944 | 12,110,645 | 22,980,351 | 64.6 | 122.6 |
| 1945 | 14,384,941 | 26,688,202 | 75.3 | 139.8 |
| 1946 | 16,139,451 | 27,588,805 | 82.0 | 140.2 |
| 1947 | 18,451,037 | 27,580,025 | 90.2 | 134.9 |
| 1948 | 21,603,231 | 29,962,872 | 101.9 | 141.4 |
| 1949 | 22,908,372 | 32,084,555 | 104.5 | 146.4 |
| 1950 | 23,789,612 | 32,995,301 | 104.7 | 145.2 |
| 1951 | 26,424,224 | 33,964,298 | 111.9 | 143.8 |
| 1952 | 28,642,221 | 36,027,951 | 117.8 | 148.2 |
| 1953 | 29,574,356 | 36,921,793 | 118.4 | 147.8 |
| 1954 | 32,387,313 | 40,232,687 | 124.3 | 154.4 |
| 1955 | 33,924,441 | 42,299,802 | 125.4 | 156.3 |
| 1956 | 36,147,905 | 44,407,746 | 130.2 | 160.0 |
| 1957 | 37,567,815 | 44,564,431 | 133.4 | 158.2 |
| 1958 | 38,607,092 | 44,580,938 | 132.8 | 153.4 |
| 1959 | 40,567,597 | 46,469,183 | 135.3 | 155.0 |
| 1960 | 43,660,757 | 49,222,950 | 141.9 | 160.0 |
| 1961 | 45,587,410 | 50,878,806 | 144.4 | 161.2 |
| 1962 | 48,030,635 | 53,013,946 | 148.5 | 163.9 |
| 1963 | 50,929,788 | 55,539,572 | 154.3 | 168.3 |
| 1964 | 54,278,946 | 58,427,283 | 161.0 | 173.4 |
| 1965 | 58,078,017 | 61,458,219 | 169.1 | 179.0 |
| 1966 | 63,290,095 | 65,113,266 | 180.4 | 185.6 |
| 1967 | 68,266,629 | 68,266,629 | 190.5 | 190.5 |
| 1968 | 74,107,511 | 71,120,452 | 203.2 | 195.0 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1969 | 79,708,008 | 72,593,814 | 213.7 | 194.6 |
| 1970 | 85,099,045 | 73,172,008 | 222.0 | 190.9 |
| 1971 | 92,967,250 | 76,642,416 | 235.8 | 194.4 |
| 1972 | 103,011,582 | 82,211,957 | 254.5 | 203.1 |
| 1973 | 113,979,609 | 85,634,567 | 273.2 | 205.3 |
| 1974 | 130,308,658 | 88,225,226 | 303.0 | 205.1 |
| 1975 | 143,587,273 | 89,073,991 | 325.5 | 201.9 |
| 1976 | 160,572,686 | 94,117,528 | 357.5 | 209.6 |
| 1977 | 176,702,775 | 97,356,901 | 387.8 | 213.7 |
| 1978 | 192,243,569 | 98,384,631 | 415.5 | 212.6 |
| 1979 | 212,603,802 | 97,793,837 | 452.9 | 208.3 |
| 1980 | 236,222,340 | 95,636,575 | 494.5 | 200.2 |
| 1981 | 252,092,235 | 92,758,860 | 519.4 | 190.8 |
| 1982 | 273,865,780 | 94,894,588 | 556.9 | 193.0 |
| 1983 | 293,177,759 | 98,526,482 | 584.8 | 196.6 |

* The grand total paid data were taken from the General Assembly Journals. These are statistics for the United States only. Several districts not in the United States were included in the United States total from 1908-1948. These districts were isolated and subtracted from the total. These districts include: Alaska, Alberta, Australia, British Columbia, British Isles, Canada West, Hawaii, Italy, Manitoba-Saskatchewan, Ontario, Scandinavia, and South Africa. Some districts have on occasion crossed international boundaries. The numbers, however, were insignificant and therefore no adjustment was made.

** These figures were computed by the following formula:
100(grand total paid/consumer price index)
See appendix E for consumer price index.

\# These figures were computed by dividing the grand total paid by number of members. See appendix C for number of members.

\#\# These figures were computed by the following formula:
100(per capita giving/consumer index)
See appendix E for consumer price index.

Appendix E

Financial Table 2

| Year | United States Per Capita Disposable Income* | Percentage of Disposable Income Donated** | Consumer Price Index# |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1923 | n.a. | n.a. | 51.1 |
| 1924 | n.a. | n.a. | 51.2 |
| 1925 | n.a. | n.a. | 52.5 |
| 1926 | n.a. | n.a. | 53.0 |
| 1927 | n.a. | n.a. | 52.0 |
| 1928 | n.a. | n.a. | 51.3 |
| 1929 | 676 | 6.43 | 51.3 |
| 1930 | 599 | 6.87 | 50.0 |
| 1931 | 513 | 6.50 | 45.6 |
| 1932 | 390 | 6.67 | 40.9 |
| 1933 | 363 | 5.81 | 38.8 |
| 1934 | 413 | 5.27 | 40.1 |
| 1935 | 459 | 4.97 | 41.1 |
| 1936 | 517 | 4.63 | 41.5 |
| 1937 | 550 | 4.81 | 43.0 |
| 1938 | 502 | 5.27 | 42.2 |
| 1939 | 534 | 4.88 | 41.6 |
| 1940 | 570 | 5.65 | 42.0 |
| 1941 | 691 | 5.17 | 44.1 |
| 1942 | 865 | 4.88 | 48.8 |
| 1943 | 973 | 5.54 | 51.8 |
| 1944 | 1,052 | 6.12 | 52.7 |
| 1945 | 1,066 | 7.01 | 53.9 |
| 1946 | 1,124 | 7.24 | 58.5 |
| 1947 | 1,170 | 7.66 | 66.9 |
| 1948 | 1,282 | 7.90 | 72.1 |
| 1949 | 1,259 | 8.27 | 71.4 |
| 1950 | 1,362 | 7.68 | 72.1 |
| 1951 | 1,465 | 7.61 | 77.8 |
| 1952 | 1,515 | 7.76 | 79.5 |
| 1953 | 1,581 | 7.48 | 80.1 |
| 1954 | 1,583 | 7.84 | 80.5 |
| 1955 | 1,664 | 7.53 | 80.2 |
| 1956 | 1,741 | 7.47 | 81.4 |
| 1957 | 1,802 | 7.41 | 84.3 |
| 1958 | 1,832 | 7.23 | 86.6 |
| 1959 | 1,903 | 7.10 | 87.3 |
| 1960 | 1,947 | 7.33 | 88.7 |
| 1961 | 1,991 | 7.28 | 89.6 |
| 1962 | 2,073 | 7.19 | 90.6 |
| 1963 | 2,144 | 7.22 | 91.7 |
| 1964 | 2,296 | 7.05 | 92.9 |
| 1965 | 2,448 | 6.94 | 94.5 |
| 1966 | 2,613 | 6.93 | 97.2 |
| 1967 | 2,757 | 6.93 | 100.0 |
| 1968 | 2,956 | 6.90 | 104.2 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1969 | 3,152 | 6.83 | 109.8 |
| 1970 | 3,390 | 6.58 | 116.3 |
| 1971 | 3,620 | 6.55 | 121.3 |
| 1972 | 3,860 | 6.59 | 125.3 |
| 1973 | 4,315 | 6.33 | 133.1 |
| 1974 | 4,667 | 6.49 | 147.7 |
| 1975 | 5,075 | 6.41 | 161.2 |
| 1976 | 5,477 | 6.53 | 170.5 |
| 1977 | 5,965 | 6.50 | 181.5 |
| 1978 | 6,621 | 6.27 | 195.4 |
| 1979 | 7,331 | 6.18 | 217.4 |
| 1980 | 8,032 | 6.16 | 247.0 |
| 1981 | 8,906 | 5.83 | 272.3 |
| 1982 | 9,377 | 5.94 | 288.6 |
| 1983 | 9,969 | 5.87 | 297.4 |

* These figures were taken from the following sources:

1929-1976 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929-1976 Statistical Tables.

1977-1982 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Survey of Current Business. July, 1982 and July, 1983.

1983 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis.

** These percentages were computed by dividing per capita giving by United States per capita diposable income. See appendix D for per capita giving.

\# These figures were taken from the following sources:

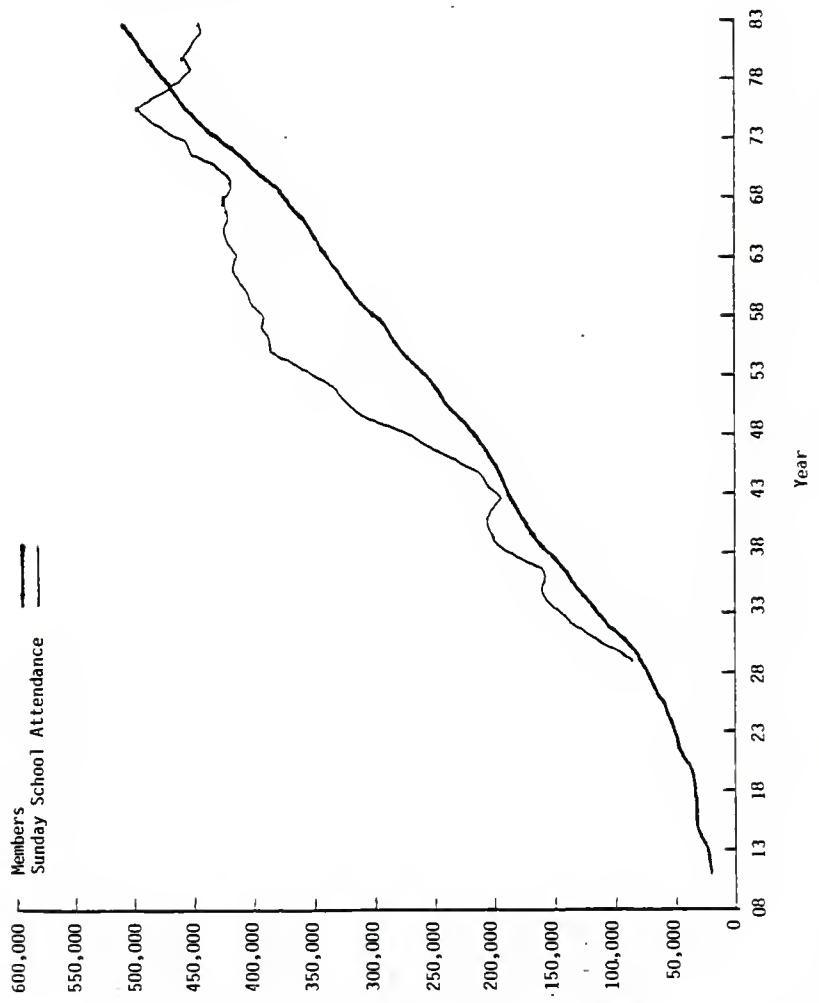
1923-1970 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 1.

1971-1982 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1984.

1983 United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

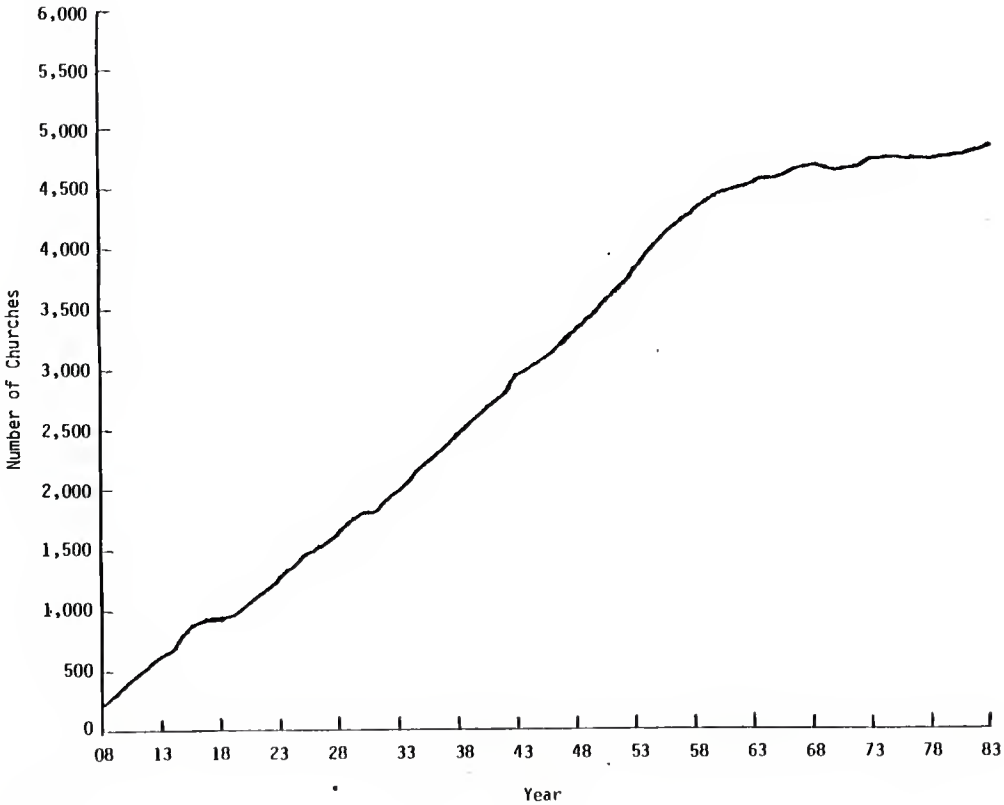
Appendix F

Membership and Sunday School Attendance



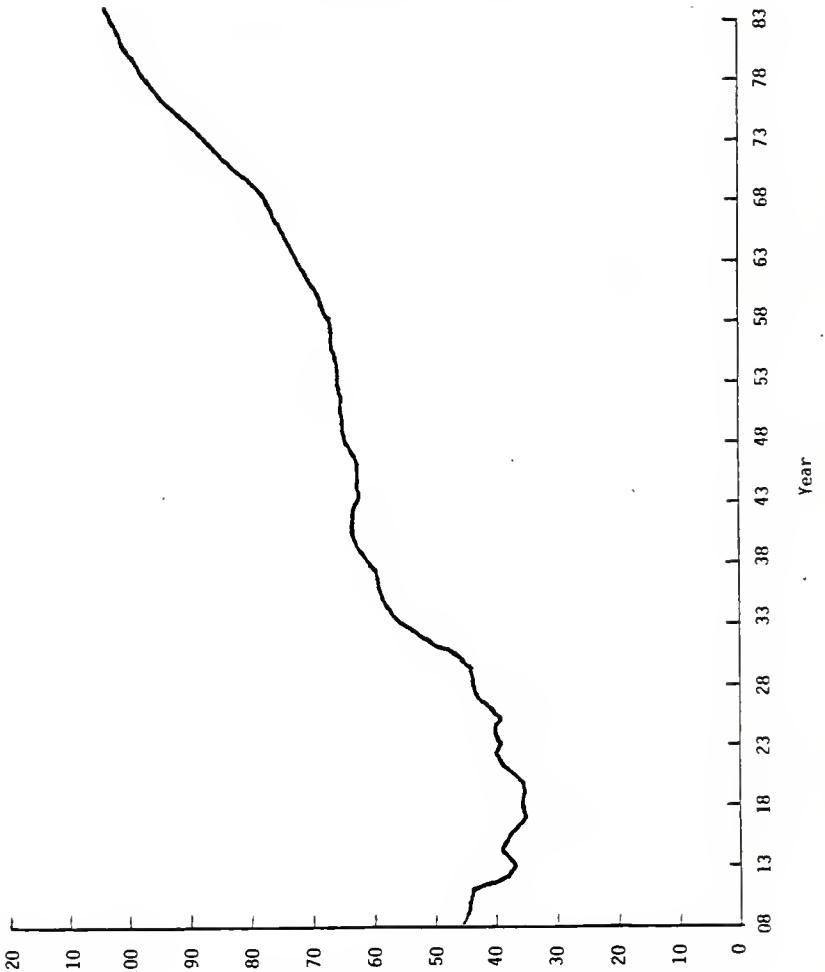
Appendix G

Total Churches



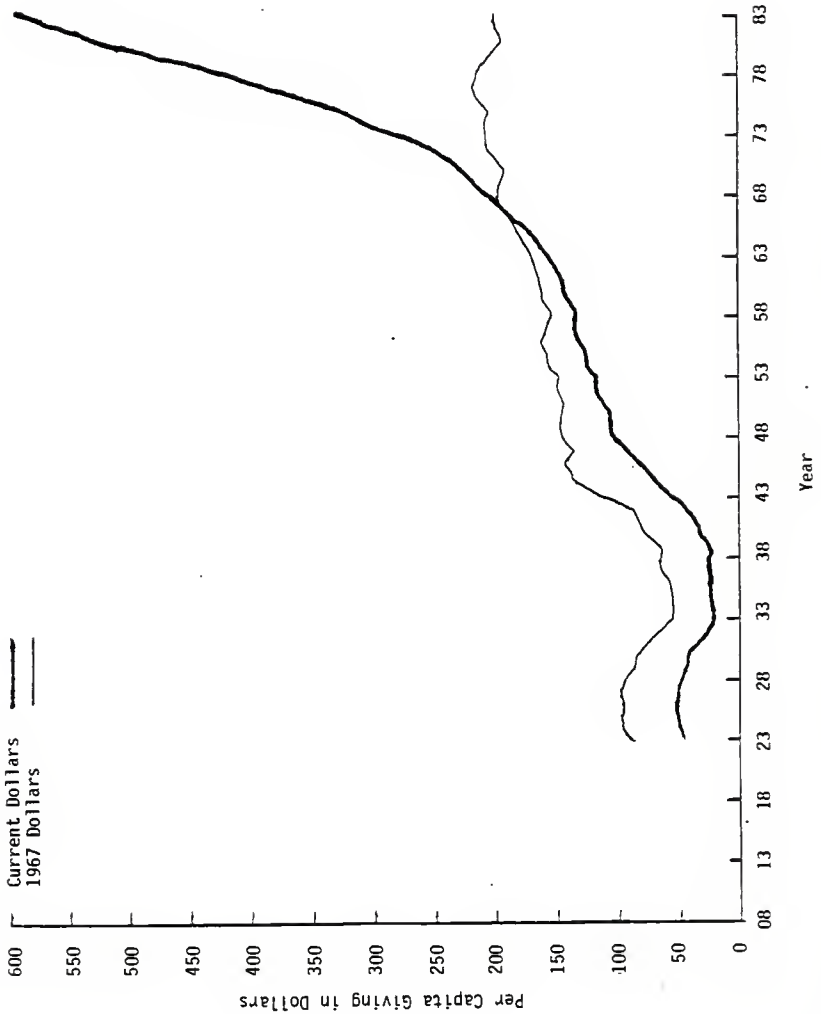
Appendix H

Average Congregation Size



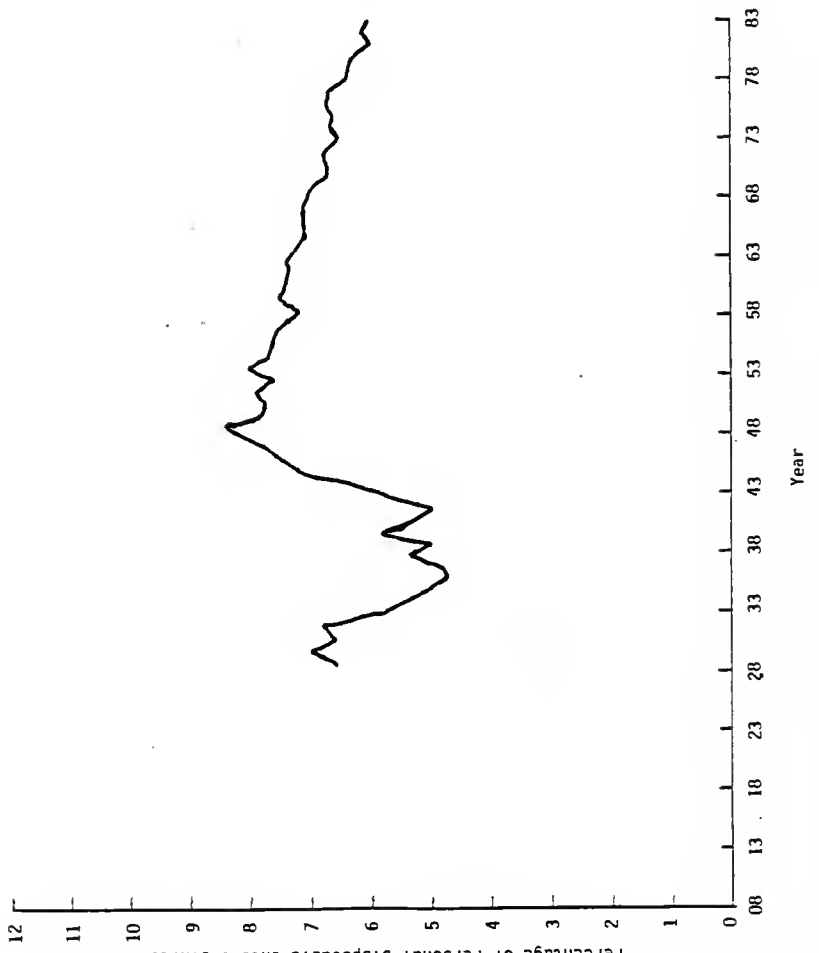
Appendix I

Per Capita Giving



Appendix J

Disposable Income Donated



BIBLIOGRAPHY


Anderson, Robert Mapes
1979 Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bainbridge, William Sims and Rodney Stark
1980 "Sectarian Tension." Review of Religious Research 22 (2): 105-124.

Bangs, Carl
1981 Our Roots of Belief: Bibilical Faith and Faithful Theology. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

_____.
1971 Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation. New York: Abingdon Press.

Bartholomew, John Niles
1981 "A Sociological View of Authority in Religious Organizations." Review of Religious Research 23 (2): 118-132.

Bassett, Paul Merritt
1978 "The Fundamentalist Leavening of the Holiness Movement, 1914-1940. The Church of the Nazarene: A Case Study." Wesleyan Theological Journal 13: 65-91.

Becker, Howard
1932 Systematic Sociology. New York: Wiley.

Beckford, James A.
1973 "Religious Organization." Current Sociology 21 (2): 5-170.

Berger, Peter L.
1969 A Rumor of Angels. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.

_____.
1958 "Sectarianism and Religious Sociation." American Journal of Sociology 64 (July): 41-44.

_____.
1954 "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism." Social Research 21 (4): 467-485.

The Birth of a Church
1983 A map provided with the Fall, 1983, Enduring Word Adult Student Sunday School curriculum: Church of the Nazarene.

Brewer, Earl D.C.
1952 "Sect and Church in Methodism." Social Forces. 30 (May): 400-408.

Bucke, Emory Stevens (ed.)
1964 The History of American Methodism. Vol. 2 New York: Abingdon Press.

Burchinal, Lee G.
1959 "Some Social Status Criteria and Church Membership and Church Attendance." The Journal of Social Psychology 49 (February): 53-64.

Cannon, William Ragsdale
1956 The Theology of John Wesley: With Special Reference to the Doctrine of Sanctification. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press.

Chapman, James B.
1926 A History of the Church of the Nazarene. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing.

Clark, Elmer T.
1937 The Small Sects in America. Nashville, Tenn.: Cokesbury Press.

Coleman, John A.
1968 "Church-Sect Typology and Organizational Precariousness." Sociological Analysis 29 (2): 55-56.

Corbett, C.T.
1979 Pioneer Builders: Men Who Helped Shape the Church of the Nazarene in Its Formative Years. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

Curtiss, Geo. L.
1894 Arminianism in History: Or, The Revolt from Predestinationism. Cincinnati, Ohio: Cranston and Curtis.

Dayton, Donald W.
1979 "The Holiness and Pentecostal Churches: Emerging From Cultural Isolation." Christian Century (August): 786-792.

_____.
1976 Discovering an Evangelical Heritage. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

_____.
1975 "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition." Christian Century (February 26): 197-201.

Dayton, Lucille Sider and Donald W. Dayton
1976 "'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy': Feminism in the Holiness Movement." Methodist History 14 (2): 67-92.

Demerath, Nicholas J.
1969 "In a Sow's Ear: A Reply to Goode." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 6 (1): 77-84.

Demerath, Nicholas J. and Phillip E. Hammond
1967 Religion in Social Context: Tradition and Transition. New York: Random House.

Dieter, Melvin Easterday
1980 The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Douglas, J. D.
1974 The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House.

Dunn, Samuel L. and others
1981 Opportunity Unlimited: The Church of the Nazarene in the Year 2000. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

Dynes, Russell
1955 "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status." American Sociological Review. 20 (October): 555-560.

Eister, Allan W.
1978 "Religion and Science A.D. 1977: Conflict? Accomodation? Mutual Indifference? Or What?" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 17 (4): 347-358.

_____.
1967 "Toward a Radical Critique of Church-Sect Typologizing: Comment on 'Some Critical Observations on the Church-Sect Dimension.'" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 6 (1): 85-90.

Fullerton, J. Timothy and Bruce Hunsberger
1982 "A Unidimensional Measure of Christian Orthodoxy." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 21 (4): 317-326.

Glock, Charles W.
1959 "Religious Revival in America?" In June Zahn (ed.) Religion and the Face of America. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.

Glock, Charles W. and Rodney Stark
1968 American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.

_____.
1966 Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism. New York: Harper and Row.

_____. 1965 Religion and Society in Tension. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Goode, Erich
1967 "Further Reflections on the Church-Sect Dimension." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 6 (4): 270-280.

Greathouse, William M. and H. Ray Dunning
1982 An Introduction to Wesleyan Theology. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

Greely, Andrew
1972 The Denominational Society. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman.

Gustafson, Paul
1975 "The Missing Member of Troeltsch's Trinity: Thoughts Generated by Weber's Comments." Sociological Analysis 36 (3): 224-226.

_____. 1967 "UO-US-PS-PO: A Restatement of Troeltsch's Church-Sect Typology." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 6 (2): 64-68.

Herberg, Will
1955 Protestant-Catholic-Jew. Garden City N.Y.: Doubleday.

Hills, Aaron M.
1932 Fundamental Christian Theology. Pasadena, Cal.: C.J. Kinne.

Hurn, Ray W.
1973 Mission Possible: A Study of the Mission of the Church of the Nazarene. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Irwin, Donald
1983 "Francis Asbury - The Difference One Person Can Make: The Contribution of Francis Asbury to the Wesleyan Holiness Movement." Preachers Magazine 59 (1): 16-19.

Johnson, Benton
1977 "Sociological Theory and Religious Truth." Sociological Analysis 38 (4): 368-388.

_____. 1971 "Church and Sect Revisited." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 11 (2): 124-137.

_____. 1963 "On Church and Sect." American Sociological Review 28 (4): 539-549.

Johnson, Jerald D.
1982 The International Experience. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Jones, Charles Edwin
1983 "What Kind of Church did the Earlier Nazarenes Actually Want?" Preachers Magazine 59 (1): 32N-32P.

_____. 1974a A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

_____. 1974b Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Journal or the General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene
1948 Published in connection with each General Assembly. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Leitch, Addison H.
1957 Beginnings in Theology. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Geneva Press.

Leith, John H. (ed.)
1973 Creeds of the Church: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to Present. Revised Richmond, Vir.: John Knox Press.

Lenski, Gerhard
1961 The Religious Factor. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.

McCant, Jerry W.
1981 The Meaning of Church Membership. 2nd ed. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

McKenzie, John
1966 Authority in the Church. New York: Sheed and Ward.

Manual of the Church of the Nazarene
1976-1980 Published in connection with each General Assembly. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Marsden, George
1980 Fundamentalism and American Culture. The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mead, Frank S.
1981 Handbook of Denominations in the United States. 7th ed. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon.

Moberg, David O.
1977 The Great Reversal: Evangelicalism and Social Concern. 2nd ed. Philadelphia, Pa.: J.B. Lippincott Co.

Moore, Emily Bushey
1973 Phineas F. Bresee: Mr. Nazarene. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Niebuhr, H. Richard
1929 The Social Sources of Denominationalism. New York: Henry Holt.

Norwood, Frank A.
1974 The Story of American Methodism. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon.

O'Dea, Thomas F.
1966 The Sociology of Religion. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

_____.
1954 "Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect and Incipient Nationality." American Journal of Sociology 60 (3): 285-293.

Parker, J. Fred
1983 "Those Early Nazarenes Cared. Compassionate Ministries of the Nazarenes." Preachers Magazaine 59 (1): 32P-32T.

Pinto, Lenard J. and Kenneth Crow
1982 "The Effects of Size on Other Structural Attributes of Congregations Within the Same Denomination." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 21 (4): 304-316.

Pope, Liston
1942 Millhands and Preachers. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Price, Ross E.
1968 Nazarene Manifesto. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

Purkiser, William T.
1983 Called Unto Holiness, Volume 2: The Second Twenty-five Years, 1933-1958. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Purkiser, William T. and others
1960 Exploring Our Christian Faith. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Redford, M.E.
1981 The Rise of the Church of the Nazarene. 4th ed. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

Rowe, Kenneth E.
1976 The Place of Wesley in the Christian Tradition. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Scherer, Ross P. (ed.)
1980 American Denominational Organization: A Sociological View. Pasadena, Cal.: William Carey Library.

Smith, Timothy
1979 Nazarenes and the Wesleyan Mission: Can We Learn From Our History. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

_____.
1962 Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

_____.
1957 Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith; reprint ed. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1976.

Snook, John B.
1974 "An Alternative to Church-Sect." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 13 (3): 191-204.

Snyder, Howard A.
1980 The Radical Wesley and Patterns for Church Renewal. Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity Press.

Stark, Rodney and William Sims Bainbridge
1981 "American-Born Sects: Initial Findings." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 20 (2): 130-149.

_____.
1979 "Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 18 (2): 117-133.

Stark, Rodney and Charles Y. Glock
1968 American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.

Steeman, Theodore M.
1975 "Church, Sect, Mysticiam, Denomination: Periodological Aspects of Troeltsch's Types." Sociological Analysis 36 (3): 181-204.

Strong, James
1978 Strong's Exhaustive Concordance. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House; reprint ed.

Swatos, William H.
1976 "Weber or Troeltsch?: Methodology, Syndrome, and the Development of Church Sect Theory." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 15 (2): 129-144.

_____.
1975 "Monopolism, Pluralism, Acceptance, and Rejection: An Integrated Model for Church-Sect Theory." Review of Religious Research 16 (3): 174-185.

Synan, Vinson
1971 The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Taylor, Mendell
1971 Handbook of Historical Documents of the Church of the Nazarene. Located in the Library at Mid-America Nazarene College in Olathe, Ks.

Troeltsch, Ernst
1931 The Social Teachings of the Christian Church. 2 Vols. New York: MacMillian.

Van Note, Gene
1983 "The People Called Nazarenes: Who We Are and What We Believe." The Enduring Word Adult Student 6 (4): All.

Walker, Williston
1970 A History of the Christian Church. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Warburton, T. Renne
1969 "Holiness Religion: An Anomaly of Sectarian Typologies." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 8 (2):130-139.

Weber, Max
1964 The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. Trans. by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: The Free Press.

_____.
1958 The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Trans. by Talcott Parsons, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

_____.
1949 The Methodolgy of the Social Sciences. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.

Welch, Michael R.
1977 "Analyzing Religious Sects: An Empirical Examination of Wilson's Typology." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 16 (2): 125-141.

Wesley, John
1958 The Works of John Wesley. 14 Vols. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House; reprint.

Whitely, Oliver Read
1955 "The Sect-to-Denomination Process in an American Religious Movement: The Disciples of Christ." The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 36 (3): 275-281.

Wiley, H. Orton
1940 Christian Theology. 3 Vols. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

Wilson, Bryan R.
1982 Religion in Sociological Perspective. New York: Oxford University Press.

_____. 1969 "A Typology of Sects." In Roland Robertson (ed.) Sociology of Religion. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin: 361-383.

_____. 1959 "An Analysis of Sect Development." American Sociological Review 24 (1): 3-15.

Wilson, John
1978 Religion in American Society. The Effective Presence. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Winter, J. Alan
1977 Continuities in the Sociology of Religion: Creed, Congregation, and Community. New York: Harper and Row.

Wood, A. Skevington
1967 The Burning Heart: John Wesley, Evangelist. Grand Rapids Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

Woodbridge, John D., Mark A. Noll, and Nathan O. Hatch
1979 The Gospel in America: Themes in the Story of America's Evangelicals. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House.

Wuthnow, Robert
1981 "Two Traditions in the Study of Religion." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 20 (1): 16-32.

Yinger, Milton
1957 Religion, Society and the Individual: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion. New York: Macmillian Comapany.

Young, Bill
1972 It Happened at Pilot Point: A Story of the Church of the Nazarene for Juniors. Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House.

Young, Frank W.
1970 "Reactive Subsystems." American Sociological Review 35 (2): 297-307.

# THE CHURCH-SECT TYPOLOGY AND THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE: AN EMPIRICAL CRITIQUE OF THE TYPOLOGY

by

MICHAEL WAYNE KRUSE

B. A., Mid-America Nazarene College, 1981

---

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1984

Abstract

The Church-Sect Typology has for years been the most prominent theoretical model of religious organizations. In spite of this fact, the typology's ability to predict or explain anything has been very limited. Determining why this is so and how a better model might be formulated are the primary objectives of this paper.

Two weaknesses have been observed concerning the typology. One is that examinations of empirical cases are rarely done. The other is that theorists usually compare religious organizations with each other rather than conducting longitudinal studies of specific cases. This longitudinal study analyzing a religious organization, the Church of the Nazarene, was designed to deal with both weaknesses.

To locate the source of the typology's problems, ten variables commonly used to distinguish between church and sect are used. The development of the the Church of the Nazarene is compared with these variables to determine if the variables are accurate in their prediction and explanation of a religious organization. Also, an effort is made to identify the fundamental aspects of religious organizations.

It is concluded that some major theoretical and substantive difficulties characterize the typology. First, one either has a tautology or a set of variables with meaningless church and sect concepts, depending on whether church and sect variables are seen as definitions or tendencies of the two types. Second, the terms church and sect were borrowed from Christianity and then used to

mean their opposites when dealing with Christian religious organizations. This led to the third problem which is that in the literature the church and the culture are viewed as having nearly identical meaning systems when, in fact, using the terms as they are understood in the Christian tradition, the church is expected to be in tension with the culture. Thus, the struggle between two competing meaning systems goes unnoticed while it is assumed that there is only one meaning system against which all other groups react.

To rectify these problems it is proposed that the defining variable between religious organizations should be tension with the culture, and that the terms "church" and "sect" should be dropped in favor of more neutral terms. Four fundamental aspects of religious organizations (meaning system, structure, sociocultural environment, and socioeconomic status) are identified, and it is suggested that these could be the foci for determining how tension is reduced or increased. It is recommended that these aspects be refined in future research. Also, comparative studies are called for between denominations and between religions to determine the validity of the new approach.